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Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology

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The Scarem Site, Washington County, Pennsylvania

By

William J. Mayer-Oakes

INTRODUCTION

For the past three years the Upper Ohio Valley Archeological Survey (UOVAS) program has been an intensive systematic effort to gather and record all available data and thus to provide a reasonable foundation for a program of intensive excavation. Analysis of the information so gathered is not yet complete, but a report synthesizing these data should be ready for publication in the near future.

This paper is to be considered as a descriptive unit of value to the understanding of the Late Prehistoric period in the Upper Ohio Valley. Correlations made are tentative, subject to possible revision in the final report of the Survey.

THE SITE—HISTORY

Site 36Wh22, located in Washington County, Pa., about twenty miles west of Pittsburgh (Fig. 1), has been known to local people for many years. It was probably first recorded in the 1930's in the field notes of the late George S. Fisher of Finleyville, Pa., southwestern Pennsylvania's most diligent amateur excavator. Fisher did very little excavation here, probably because the site was somewhat outside his area of intensive work.

The record of field work on the Scarem site is intimately connected with the early history of Allegheny Chapter No. 1 of The Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology. This Chapter was chartered in April 1939, as the outgrowth of an earlier organization, The Society for the Preservation of American Antiquities, which had been founded in the fall of 1936 by the Hon. John R. Haudenshield and Messrs. H. N. Rudderow, T. H. Daugherty and H. Gilmer. This new Chapter, under the presidency of Dr. T. H. Daugherty, decided to carry on the project of the earlier organization of preparing a map of prehistoric sites in the Pittsburgh area and to institute a new project of field work by the group on selected sites in this area.

Previous to this plan, Mr. Roy Scarem, the land owner in whose honor the site is named, had uncovered numerous and varied artifacts from the site and had recognized the possible value of it to the study of Pennsylvania archeology. He proposed to Mr. Haudenshield the possibility of having an accredited, non-commercial organization make a thorough study of the site. In August 1939 Mr. Haudenshield presented this proposition to the new Chapter. An examination of the site and of the available artifacts influenced the Chapter members to begin a carefully planned program of excavation in 1940 under the supervision of the then State Archeologist, Dr. C. E. Schaeffer. This work was continued in 1941 under the presidency of Mr. Paul W. Aitkenhead, until the pressure of war work on all the members led to suspension of the Chapter activities for the duration.

This site was brought to my attention in June, 1950, by George Chastulik of Burgettstown, Pa. In November, 1950, at the reorganization meeting of the Allegheny Chapter, I was informed of the 1941 excavations by Dr. Daugherty, former president of the Chapter. Subsequent discussions resulted in the decision to study the exca-

vated materials, and to prepare a brief report on the excavation made by the Chapter.

THE SITE—DESCRIPTION

The Scarem site is located on the west side of Raccoon Creek on a high terrace situated in a large bend of the creek just opposite the mouth of Little Raccoon Creek. Approximately one-fourth of the site lies on uncultivated land of the Scarem farm; the rest of the site, on an adjoining farm, has been cultivated for many years. When freshly plowed, this larger part of the site shows up as an oval area of darkened midden soil, about 250 by 150 feet. Sterile tan soil lies within the oval and also surrounds it. The site area is thus a ring of dark earth.

THE SITE—EXCAVATION

All of the work done by Allegheny Chapter was confined to the Scarem property and approximately one-third of this portion of the site (or one-twelfth of the entire site) was excavated (Fig. 2). The excavators attempted to control their work by the use of a grid system based upon units 10 feet square. The sod was stripped and all soil screened, so that the artifact sample is exhaustive for the area worked. The virgin topsoil averaged 6 inches in depth and contained much broken bone, pottery, shell, stone and chert. This thin layer of top soil overlies a yellow sterile subsoil.

In June 1952, UOVAS conducted limited excavations at the site. Two 35-foot long trenches were laid across the unexcavated portion of the midden area on the Scarem property. Profiles showed a slight thickening of the midden deposit which probably accounts for the oval horizontal structure of the site. No house or stockade posts were observed in these trenches, but one trench (Fig. 3) did produce three features: a small irregular refuse pit (F1), a large oval refuse pit (F2), and a circular firepit (F3) which contained rocks, burned earth, and charred grass.

FOOD REMAINS

John Guilday, Carnegie Museum osteologist, has studied the more than 2300 fragments of animal bone collected at the site. Results of his identifications show that deer or elk remains constitute the majority of mammal bones. Raccoon, beaver, woodchuck, bear, fox and dog were in evidence. The bird most often present in the collection was turkey, but grouse was also represented. Fish and amphibian remains were identified, but bones of the box turtle were the most predominant non-mammalian type. Fresh-water mussel shells were found on the site and probably represent food refuse. (See Table I).

The results of Mr. Guilday's study are similar to those obtained by Gilmore (1946) in his study of faunal materials from late sites excavated by the W.P.A. in Somerset County, Pa. At Scarem there is perhaps more emphasis on aquatic animals because of the site's proximity to a good-sized stream.

ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION

All items found in the 1941 excavation were turned over to the owner of the land, Roy P. Scarem, who generously lent this collection to UOVAS for the purpose of this study. The combined number of artifacts recovered by the Allegheny Chapter and Carnegie Museum excavations is small, and for this report has been considered as one unit. Enough distinctive items occurred, however, to enable us to define the major occupation of the site.

Artifacts were made of various kinds of material, especially chert and pottery (Table II). Deer antler was used for flaking tools, both pressure points (Fig. 4,F) and indirect "drifts" (Fig. 4,A). Conical arrowpoints were also made from antler (Fig. 4,E). (With Fig. 4, and subsequent illustrations, scale is in inches.)

Bone as food refuse occurred on the site in profusion and many pieces showed modification for other use. Of particular importance, numerically, were beads made of bird bone (Fig. 4,D); awls from splinter fragments (Fig. 4,N); fish hooks (Fig. 4,I); cups or spoons of box-turtle shell (Fig. 4,C); and such ornaments as pendants of raccoon canine teeth (Fig. 4,B) and cut or perforated canine teeth of the black bear (Fig. 4,G,H). A unique item of bone is the triangular arrow point (Fig. 4,J) which imitates the major chert type.

A wide variety of chert forms characterizes the site. Projectile points of triangular form are the most numerous (Fig. 5,A). There are, however, many stemmed and notched points (Fig. 5,E,D) as well as scrapers, drills and blades (Fig. 5,B,C) which may represent an occupation earlier than that characterized by the triangular points and shell-tempered pottery. The most common identifiable source of chert was Onondaga chert pebbles. Some Flint Ridge material was also used.

Of particular importance in the class of worked stone tools are a decorated vase-shaped pipe (Fig. 10,A), several crude sandstone disks, granite and hematite celts, sandstone abraders and pitted (anvil) stones (Fig. 5,G,J,F). In addition, platform pipe fragments (Fig. 10,B), gorgets (Fig. 5,H) and worked hematite pieces were found, but these may belong to an earlier occupation.

The pottery sample offers the largest number of artifacts. Of a total collection of 3738 sherds, 99 per cent were shell tempered. The remaining grit or untempered sherds were fragments from small modeled pots which were probably toys. Most of the pottery is of one major type, "Monongahela Cordmarked" which is the basic and probably earliest shell-tempered pottery in the Upper Ohio Valley and is a marker for the Late Prehistoric period. Another type, "Monongahela Plain" is represented as a minor type at the Scarem site. The grit-tempered toy pots are members of a widespread ware which appears in small numbers on most Late Prehistoric sites. We term this grit-tempered type "Scarem Plain," since it is first described from the Scarem site. (See detailed preliminary type descriptions of Monongahela Cordmarked and Scarem Plain, in this paper. Monongahela Plain will be described elsewhere.)

Pottery characteristics are amazingly uniform. Most of the variation occurs in the treatment of the lip area. "Plain lip" (Fig. 6) and "Decorated lip" (Fig. 7) rim types or modes, are about evenly divided and together constitute 81 per cent of all rims. Lip decorations are made by narrow to wide incising, paddle-edge or cordwrapped stick indentations, cordmarking or fingernail punctates, decreasingly frequent in this order. There is some evidence, in the way of an intermediate form, for a development (Fig. 8) from the "Decorated lip" type to the other major rim type, "Punctate rim" (Fig. 9). Rim appendages, in the form of rounded castellations, appear mainly on the "Plain lip" but also on the "Decorated lip" types. Vessel shape is rather uniformly a simple vase form with slight variation in rim flare. For the "Punctate rim" type, collar and channel forms with constricted neck and probably a more globular body are common. Average mouth diameters are from 8 to 10 inches, with a few being smaller and fewer being larger. Bowl forms are also indicated by three rim sherds.

Pottery pipes are represented by three fragments of stem, two of which (Fig. 10,C) have an incised design, a rare occurrence on Monongahela pipes. One fragment of a "Monongahela Cord-Impressed" pipe bowl exhibits a high collar which is an unusual feature of such pipes. The

other "Monongahela Cord-Impressed" pipe bowl (Fig. 10,E and Fig. 11) is unique since it is a bird effigy rather than the typical obtuse angled elbow form.

COMPARISONS

The name "Monongahela Woodland" has been given by Butler (1939) to a complex of what now appear to be at least two cultures which occupied the Upper Ohio Valley in Late Prehistoric times. These cultures are fundamentally related units consisting of small stockaded villages of farming peoples, but there is enough internal variation in the complex to suggest definite temporal and geographic, as well as cultural divisions. Only in the earliest stages and most eastern branches of this complex, however, are there a majority of traits which could be called "Woodland." For this reason, I propose to delete the term "Woodland" for the sake of simplicity, as well as accuracy. The additional evidence now available warrants this change in terminology.

The Scarem site fits rather well into the Monongahela complex. At present, ceramic traits are the most useful for distinguishing units within the complex and on this basis the Scarem site is most closely related to the typical Monongahela River sites such as Bunola and Newell. The presence of the punctate rimsherds may indicate that Scarem is a late unit within Monongahela development since such sherds appear in greatest abundance on sites producing the earliest European trade goods. There is definitely no linkage with pre-Monongahela units since grit tempering or limestone tempering is not present. Stone vasiform pipes occur most frequently on early historic sites as do the decorated pipe stems. The presence of such items at Scarem probably indicates its late position in the Monongahela development.

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1930 Archaeological work in Westmoreland and Fayette counties, Pennsylvania. *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, vol. 13, no. 2.

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1943 The culture of the Keyser farm site. *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts and Letters*, vol. 29.

POTTERY TYPE DESCRIPTIONS

MONONGAHELA CORDMARKED

PASTE:

Method of manufacture: Coiled, malleated with a cordwrapped paddle.

Temper: Moderate to finely crushed shell particles under 2 mm. in diameter, composing 10-30% of the paste.

Texture: Finely laminated, parallel to vessel walls.

Hardness: 2.5-3.5.

Color: Surfaces are predominantly dark, but exteriors range from buff to black; core is usually dark; majority of inner surfaces are gray to black.

SURFACE FINISH: Interior surfaces usually well smoothed, exterior has been roughened by impressions of a cordwrapped paddle; these impressions are partly obliterated on 30-50% of the sherds.

DECORATION: Confined to the lip and adjacent lower rim area. Lip decoration in this sample (36Wh22) was present on 36% of the rims and was

accomplished by narrow-to-wide incising (longitudinally, transverse or oblique), paddle-edge or cordwrapped stick indentations, cordmarking or fingernail punctates, decreasingly important in this order. In an additional 5% of the rims the decoration spills over from the lip to the lower rim edge (usually an oblique paddle-edge impression) and in another 8% of the rims, decoration consists of moderately wide, shallow linear punctates.

FORM:

Rim: straight.

Neck: slightly constricted.

Lip: square; sometimes flattened.

Body: elongated globular jar; bowl forms also known.

Base: probably rounded.

Thickness: ranges from 5-9 mm.

Appendages: pointed or rounded castellations infrequent.

DIAGNOSTIC FEATURES: Paste, surface finish, rim form.

GEOGRAPHICAL RANGE: Entire Monongahela drainage; lower Allegheny valley with outliers in the upper reaches; Ohio valley proper (with outliers in the Shenango valley) down to the Marietta, Ohio, area where the type overlaps with the Fort Ancient type, Clover Cordmarked. There are peripheral sites in the upper Potomac drainage, where Griffin has defined Keyser Cordmarked, a geographic variant of this type.

PROBABLE RELATIONSHIPS: This pottery type is the basic and most common shell-tempered type in the Upper Ohio Valley. It is the most common member of the Monyock ware group and apparently covers the longest span of occupation of any member of this ware. What are thought to be the earliest forms of this type show no known local relationships except possibly to the simple "Woodland Cordmarked" which is known to be present in Middle Woodland times. Closest similarities are to early Fort Ancient types, e.g., Baum Cordmarked. There are definite relationships to earlier local limestone-tempered wares (Watson ware in Ohio drainage and Yock ware in Youghiogheny drainage), but the significance of this is not yet clear. The latest influences on this type appear to come from two different directions—the Iroquois area via the Susquehanna and Potomac drainages and the eastern Fort Ancient area via the Clover complex and the Ohio valley.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Engberg (1930-1931)
Butler (1939)
Cresson (no date)
Manson, MacCord and Griffin (1943)

SAMPLE SIZE: (This site)
2747 body sherds
160 rim sherds

SCAREM PLAIN

PASTE:

Method of manufacture: Modeled (often crudely) from single lump of clay.

Temper: Rarely any. Some suggestion of very small amounts of finely crushed shell—gritty hematite inclusions in the natural clay are usually apparent; from 0-15% of the paste.

Texture: Irregular and contorted.

Hardness: 1.5 - 2.5

Color: Surfaces are predominantly light reddish brown; core seldom darker.

SURFACE FINISH: Interior surfaces irregular, showing finger impressions. Exterior fairly well smoothed with with some examples of horizontal roughening in the neck area.

DECORATION: Confined to transverse indentations of the lip.

FORM:

Rim: moderately outflaring.
Neck: moderate constriction in most cases.
Lip: slightly pointed or beveled.
Body: small globular jar or bowl.
Base: rounded.
Thickness: 2-5 mm.
Appendages: None known.
Vessel size: Height from 3-6 cm, mouth diameter from 2-4 cm.
DIAGNOSTIC FEATURES: Paste, surface finish, size.
GEOGRAPHICAL RANGE: Monongahela drainage; Raccoon Creek valley.
PROBABLE RELATIONSHIPS: This type seems to be related in its distribution to Monongahela Cordmarked but may not cover so long a span of time or so wide a geographic area. It is apparently made in imitation of these larger vessels. Very similar sherds which have been marked with a cord-wrapped paddle and are from slightly larger vessels, appear on sites in the middle Monongahela valley. These and the Scarem Plain vessels perhaps represent items made by or for children and have been found associated with juvenile burials.
BIBLIOGRAPHY:
Engberg (1930, Pl VIII, 1,2)
SAMPLE SIZE: (This site)
15 body sherds
9 rim sherds

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For help in the preparation of this report the author wishes to express thanks to Paul W. Aitkenhead, T. H. Daugherty, John E. Guilday, Roy P. Scarem and Laurel Busse.

TABLE I

Bone material from Scarem Site

Common name	Scientific name	Minimum no. of animals	No. of identifiable fragments	Remarks
	Mammals			
White-tailed deer	*Odocoileus virginianus*	9	184	
Wapiti	*Cervus canadensis*	4	47	1 metapodial modified into a tool
Deer or wapiti			15	Antler fragments; some worked
Raccoon	*Procyon lotor*	6	33	5 canines drilled through root of tooth, 1 unworked, but charred
Beaver	*Castor canadensis*	4	15	
Black bear	*Euarctos americanus*	2	5	1 upper canine drilled through root 1 lower canine cut and polished
Bison or cattle	*Bovidae sp?*	1	2	
Dog or wolf	*Canis sp?*	1	3	
Dog	*Canis familiaris*	1	2	teeth
Gray fox	*Urocyon cinereoargenteus*	2	4	
Otter	*Lutra canadensis*	1	2	
Mink	*Mustela vison*	1	1	
Woodchuck	*Marmota monax*	3	9	
Fox? squirrel	*Sciurus niger*(?)	1	3	Identification based upon size
Chipmunk	*Tamias striatus*	1	3	Probably adventitious
Rabbit	*Sylvilagus floridanus*(?)	2	3	
Man	*Homo sapiens*	2	3	1 phalange, 1 infant scapula, 1 molar; no sign of workmanship or charring
Unidentified worked bone			59	
	Birds			
Turkey	*Meleagris gallopavo*	1	13	
Ruffed grouse	*Bonasa umbellus*	1	7	
Robin	*Turdus migratorius*	1	1	
Swan?	*Cygnus?*	1	1	Prox. end of

				ulna, scored for removal of beads
Unidentified fragments		?	53	Majority probably turkey
Unidentified small passerine		1	1	
	Fish			
Unidentified		?	23	
	Amphibians			
Hellbender	*Cryptobranchus alleghaniensis*	1	1	
Frog	*Rana* sp.	1	1	
	Reptiles			
Box turtle	*Terrapene carolina*	8	184	All fragments of shell; no body bones found; 22 additional fragments were pieces of broken cups or ladles
Soft-shelled turtle	*Amyda* sp.	1	4	
Snapping turtle	*Chelydra serpentina*	1	5	
Turtle sp. ?	*Chelydra* or *Amyda*			
	Unidentified	1	2	

Total no. of bones 2336 +
Unidentified 1646 + fragments over 90% probably deer and elk

TABLE II

Artifact Traits, Scarem Site

ANTLER

conical projectile point 1
flaker 5
drift 2
worked tine 2

BONE

bead 43
splinter awl 13
joint awl 1
chisel 1
fish-hook 1
cup fragments (turtle) 25
triangular projectile point 1
cut bear canine 1
perforated bear canine 2
perforated raccoon canine 5
worked beaver incisor 1

CHERT

triangular projectile point 41
corner-notched point 25
side-notched point 29
stemmed point 26
ovate knife 4
end scraper 2
rectangular scraper 2
lanceolate point 1
bifurcate-base point 2
large blade 7
bunt 1
projectile point fragment 42
drill 19
worked piece 14

SHELL

bead; short cylinder 1

STONE

platform pipe 3
vase pipe 1
gorget 2
incised slate tablet 1
sandstone disk 4
rubbed hematite 5
hematite celt 1
granite celt 3
steatite body sherd 1
three-quarter grooved axe (unfinished) 1
sandstone abrader 3
hammerstone 3
mano-pestle 1
metate 1
pitted (anvil) stone 10
worked stone 8

[TABLE II continued]

POTTERY SHERDS

					Rim Sherds									
	cordmarked body sherds	plain body sherds	unclassified body sherds	cordmarked rim sherds	plain rim sherds	incised body sherds	TOTAL	plain lip	decorated lip	transitional	punctate rim	bowl sherd	unclassed	TOTAL
Shell-tempered	2747	306	468	160	29	4	3714	84	68	10	15	3	9	189
% of total	74	8	12.5	4	1	.5	100	44	36	5	8	2	5	100
Grit-tempered		15			9		24	5	4					9
% of total		62.5			37.5		100	56	44					100
TOTAL SHERDS	2747	321	468	160	38	4	3738	89	72	10	15	3	9	198

POTTERY PIPES Monyock Cord-Impressed 2

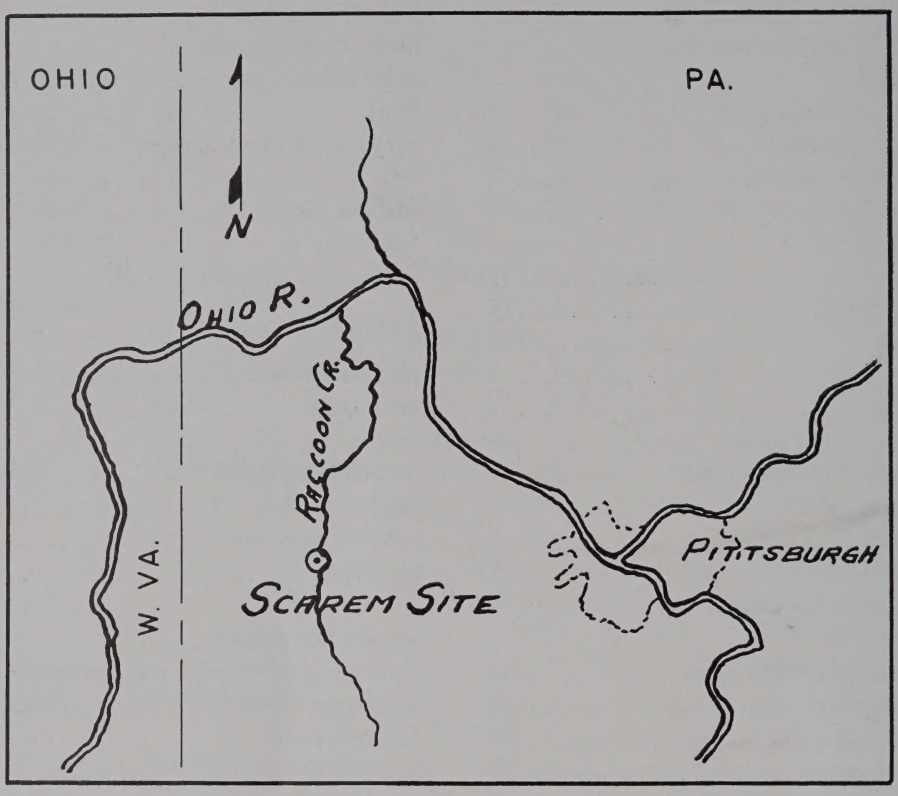

Fig. 1. SKETCH MAP SHOWING LO CATION OF SCAREM SITE.

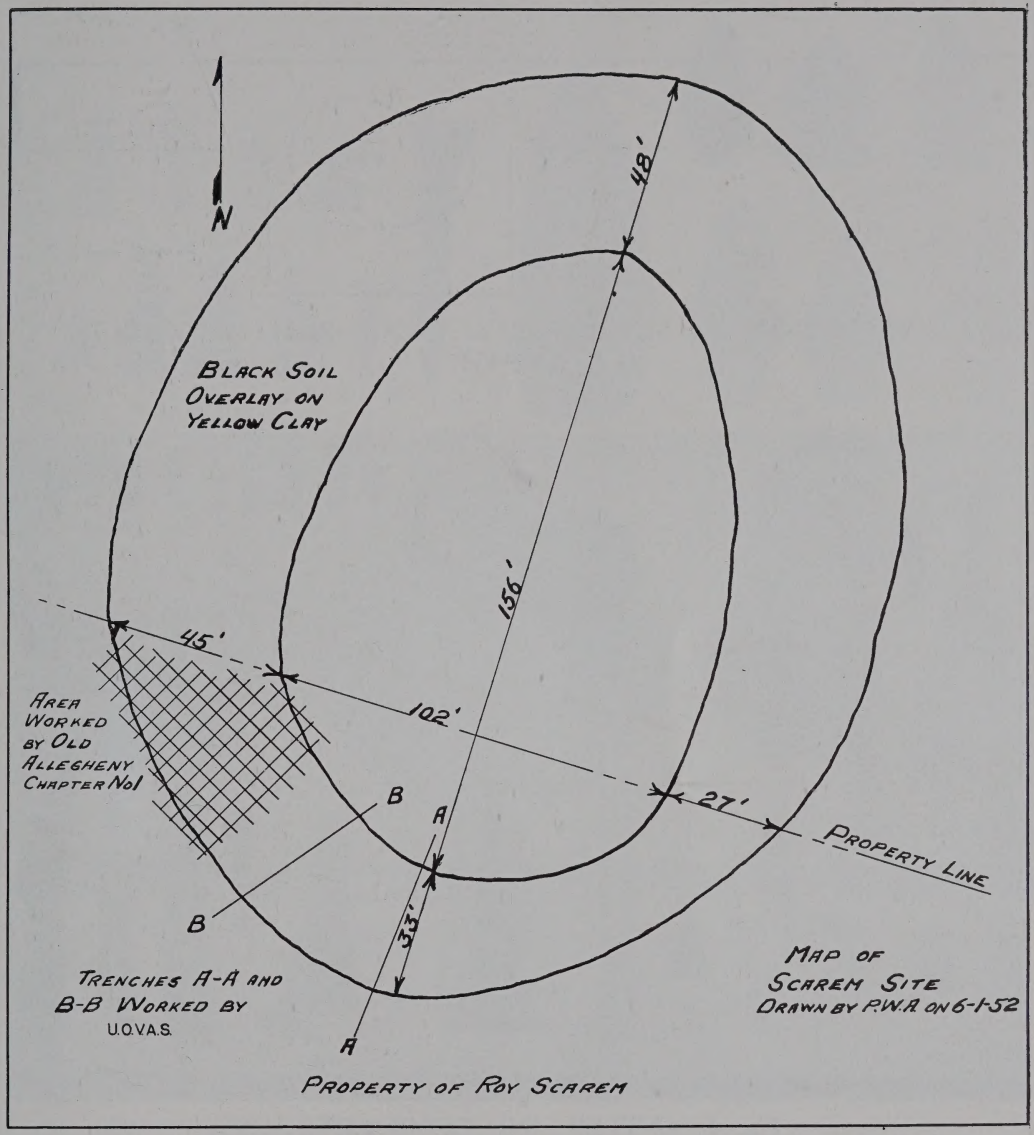

Fig. 2. SKETCH MAP OF SCAREM SITE.

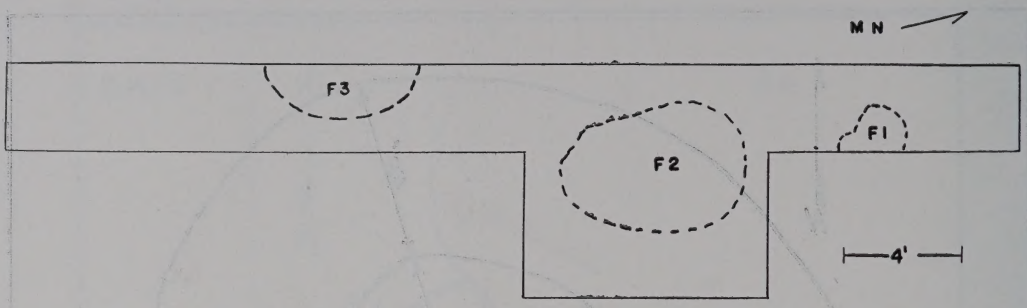

Fig. 3. EXCAVATION AT SCAREM SITE. FLOOR PLAN AT 10-INCH DEPTH.

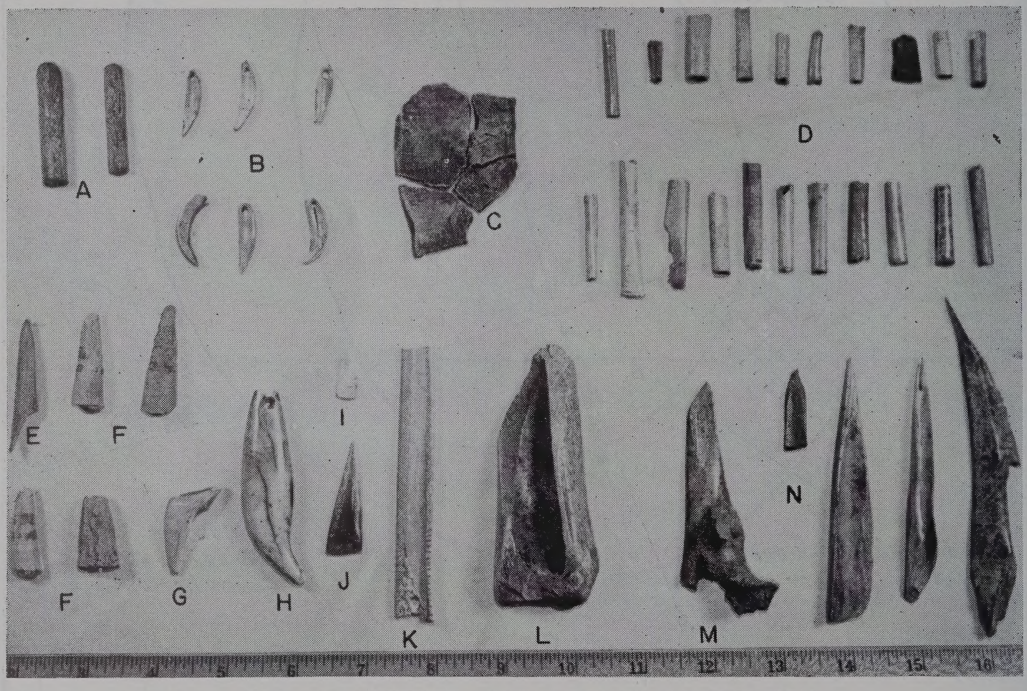

Fig. 4. ANTLER AND BONE ARTIFACTS.

a. antler drifts b. worked teeth c. worked turtle carapace d. bird bone beads e. antler projectile point f. antler flakers g. cut bear canine h. perforated bear canine i. bone fish hook j. triangular bone point k. perforated and notched splinter awl l. bone chisel m. joint awl n. splinter awls

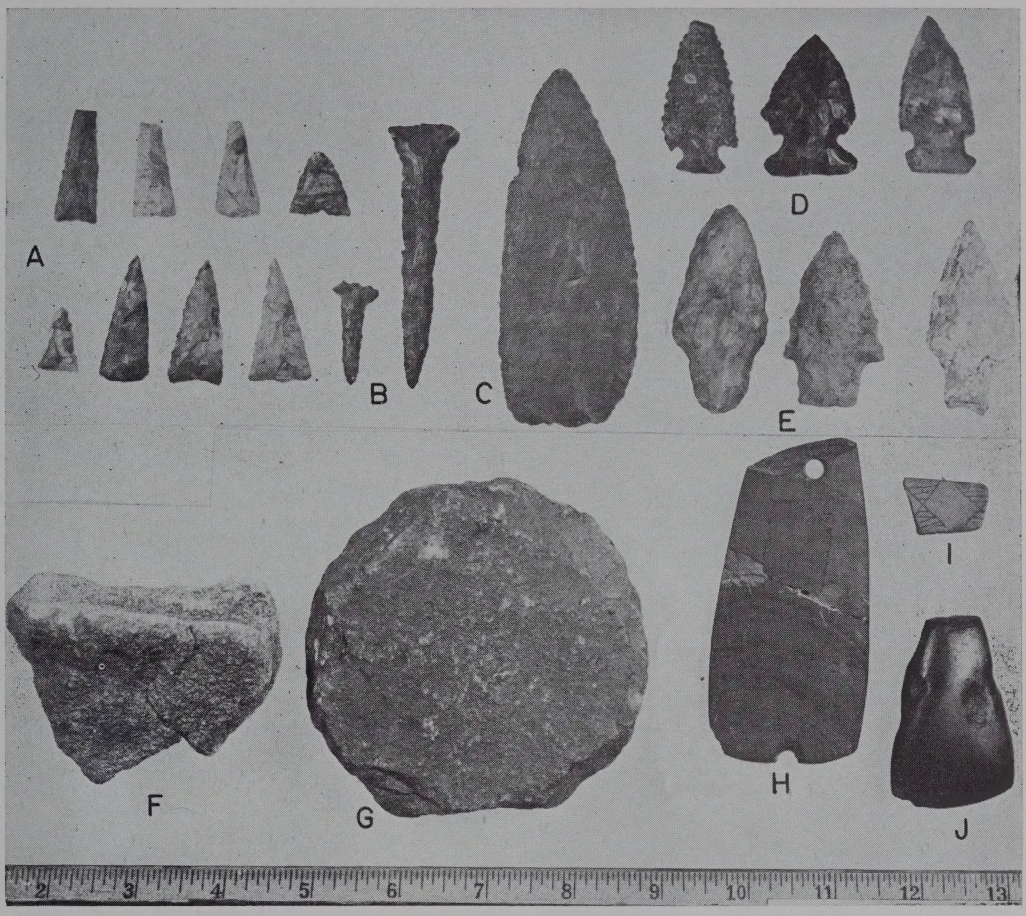

Fig. 5. CHERT AND STONE ARTIFACTS

a. triangular projectile points b. drills c. blade d. side-notched points e. stemmed points f. abrader g. disk h. reworked gorget i. incised slate tablet j. hematite celt

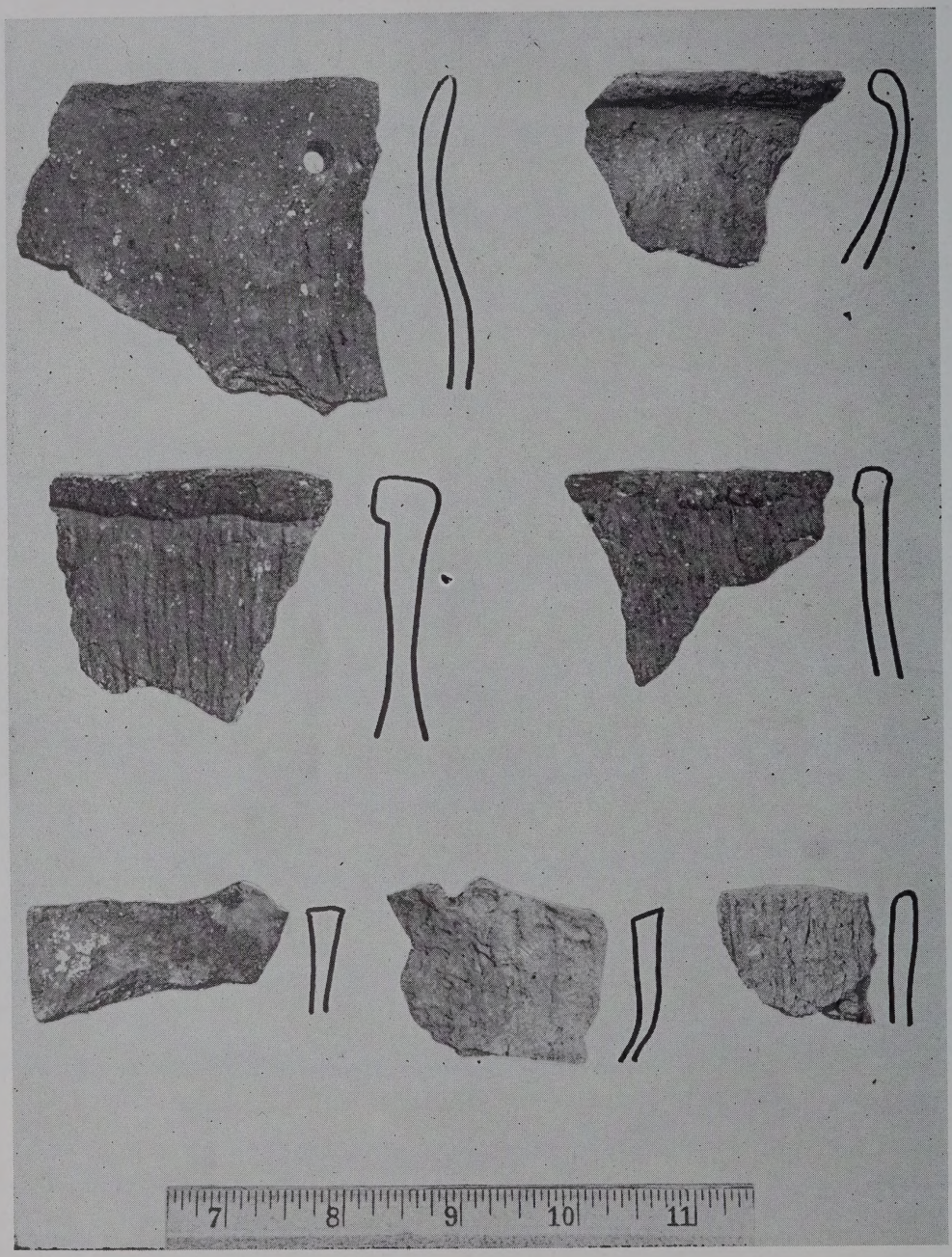

Fig. 6 PLAIN-LIP RIM TYPES, MONONGAHELA CORDMARKED

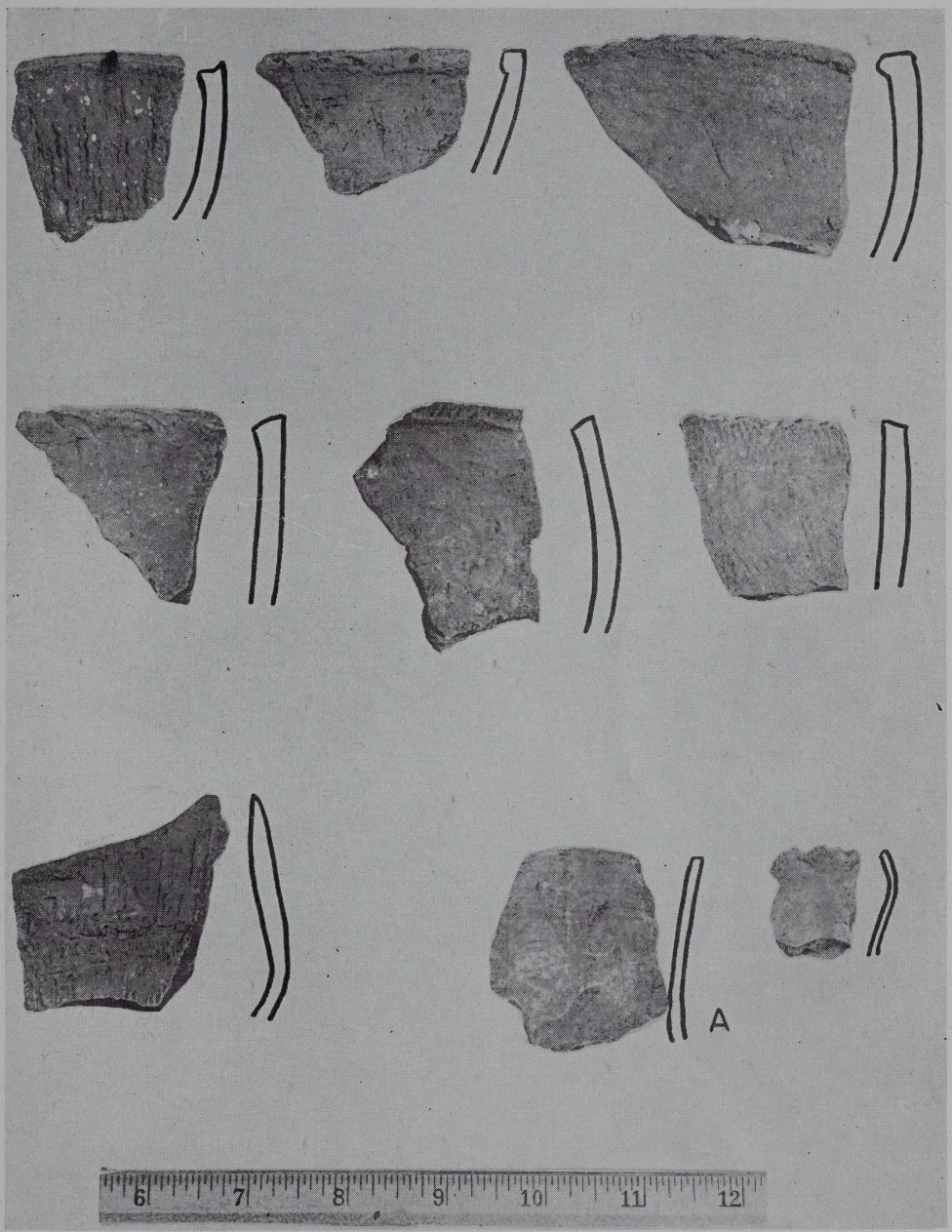

Fig. 7. DECORATED-LIP RIM TYPES, MONONGAHELA CORDMARKED

a. Scarem Plain rims

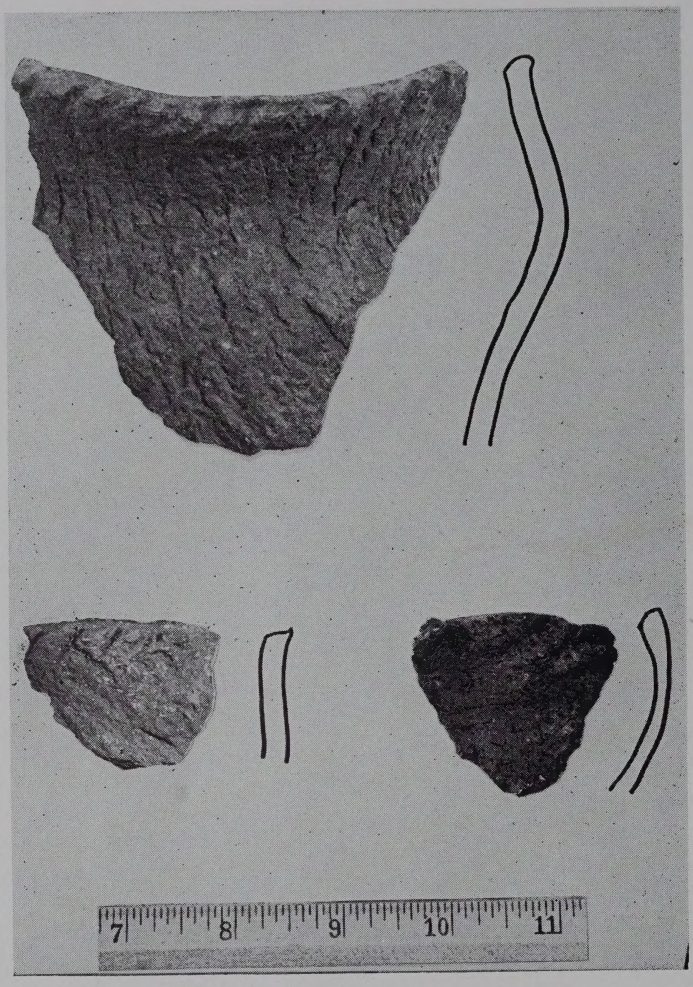

Fig. 8. TRANSITIONAL RIM TYPE, MONONGAHELA CORDMARKED

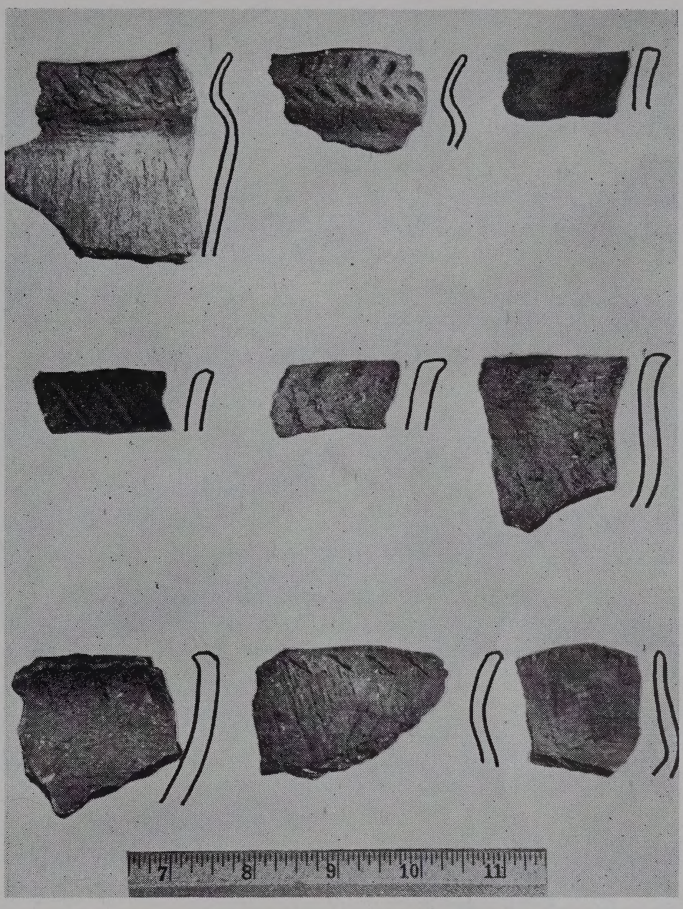

Fig. 9 PUNCTATE RIM TYPE, MONONGAHELA CORDMARKED

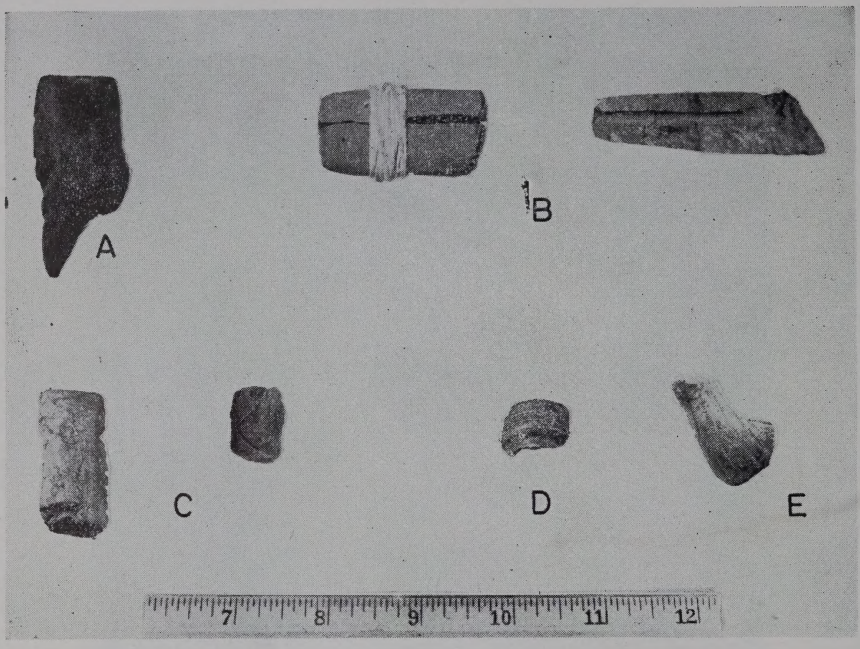

Fig. 10. PIPES

a. stone vasiform b. stone platform c. incised pottery stems d. collared Monyock Cord-Impressed bowl sherd e. bird effigy Monyock Cord-Impressed fragment

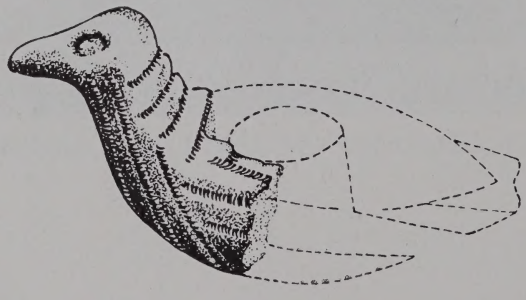

Fig 11. BIRD EFFIGY PIPE RECONSTRUCTION (Drawn by Laurel Busse)

*Contribution No. 18 from the Upper Ohio Valley Archeological Survey.

John Hays' Diary and Journal Of 1760

Edited by William A. Hunter

The royal appointment of Sir William Johnson, in 1756, as Indian agent in the northern British colonies was by no means popular in Pennsylvania. The Penns regarded it as an infringement upon their charter; and the Provincial Assembly, engaged in a stubborn quarrel with the Proprietary officers, had their own reasons for wishing to negotiate directly with the neighboring Indians. A period of professed cooperation between the Lieutenant Governor and Sir William was satisfactory to neither of the two parties. In 1758, with the establishment of a British post at Pittsburgh, the rivalry sharpened. Pennsylvania hastened to set up at this place a Provincial store for the Indian trade, while Johnson placed here his deputy agent, George Croghan.

Teedyuscung's arrival at Philadelphia in December, 1759, with news that he had been invited to a great Indian council beyond the Ohio, seemed to offer the Province a golden opportunity. Governor Hamilton promptly named Teedyuscung a special emissary of the Province, and appointed the Moravian missionary, Christian Frederick Post, to accompany him in the guise of advisor, with instructions to invite the western Indians to come that summer to Philadelphia for a treaty. The prospect of attending the western council as special ambassador of the Province undoubtedly pleased Teedyuscung, whose prestige had declined somewhat since the days when he had acted as negotiator between the Province and the Indian nations; and it made less unpalatable the fact that he was to be advised by Post, who in 1758 had superseded him as Provincial messenger to the Indians.[1]

As finally constituted, the Provincial embassy of 1760 included also two Christian Delawares, Moses Tatamy[2] and Isaac Still,[3] to serve as interpreters, and John Hays, a Scotch-Irishman from present Northampton County, chosen by Post as travelling companion. Having taken care to strengthen his position by obtaining from the British commander, General Amherst, a message to be read to the western

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1. See A. F. C. Wallace: KING OF THE DELAWARES: TEEDYUSCUNG (Philadelphia, 1949), not only for an account of this chief but also for the general historical background. Teedyuscung was described in 1756 as "near Fifty years old. He is a lusty, raw bon'd Man, haughty and very desireous of Respect and Command; he can drink three Quarts or a Gallon of Rum a Day, without being drunk." His style of dress is also on record; in 1760 the Province furnished him "a good Suit of Cloaths &c yt he may make an appearance answerab to ye Occasion," and shirts, handkerchiefs, blanket, stroud, stockings, breechclout, shoes, and hat.

   Post went twice to Wyoming for the Governor in June, 1758, and subsequently made two trips to the Ohio to draw the western Indians away from the French.
2. Original name, Tunda Tatamy; from New Jersey. In 1733 the Province of Pennsylvania surveyed land for him at present Stockertown, Northampton Co. He began in 1744 to serve as interpreter for the Presbyterian missionary, David Brainerd, who baptized him and his wife the following year. In 1758 he travelled to the upper Chemung River to invite the Munsees to a council with Gov. Bernard of New Jersey. He died about the end of 1760, aged about 65. One of his sons, William, was fatally shot in 1757, on the way to a peace conference at Easton. A daughter was cared for by the Friends during his absence on the embassy of 1760; and another son, Nicholas, also survived him. The Moravian, Count Zinzendorf, who visited Tatamy in 1742, described him as "a man of a remarkably quiet and modest deportment, who spoke English well, and had regulated his housekeeping much in the European style."
3. Isaac Still was also a Jersey Delaware; much younger than Moses Tatamy, but like him a member of Brainerd's Indian congregation. Acted as Provincial interpreter, 1758-1775. Accompanied Post on his second trip to the Ohio in 1758, and remained there until the following spring to visit western Indians with King Beaver, the Ohio Delaware. Died, not far from present Harrisburg, early in 1776, while on his way to the Ohio. He had a wife, Abigail, and a son, Joshua. In 1828, Samuel Preston remembered Isaac Still as "a full blooded Indian of dark Complection a remarkable handsome well made man rather more than middle Size & had very uncommon bright Eyes was always remarkable pleasant."

Indians, Post set out from Philadelphia on May 3. The interpreters, Tatamy and Still, had gone on ahead, but Post was accompanied by two other Indians (one of whom, Captain Bull,[4] was a son of Teedyuscung), who had come from the Allegheny on some errand of their own and were now returning home. Leaving Bethlehem on May 8, Post stopped overnight at Hays' tavern (present Weaversville); and the party of two white men and two Indians reached Wyoming (present Wilkes-Barre) on May 11. Joined there by Teedyuscung and a few of his followers, the embassy, fourteen men in all, journeyed up the North Branch of the Susquehanna to Tioga Point, near the present New York boundary, and then followed the courses of the Chemung and Canisteo rivers.

As the party progressed, their journey became increasingly uneasy. At the Indian towns above Tioga, the embassy had a confused and somewhat antagonistic reception; and the delegation itself was split by the mutual jealousy of Post and Teedyuscung. At the town of Canisteo (called by the Delawares Secaughcung, or Passigachkunk)[5] these strains were climaxed and resolved when the Senecas refused to permit the two white men to go onward to the Allegheny by that route, and ordered them to return home.

Teedyuscung, accompanied by the two interpreters and a few other Indians, was allowed to go on; and his invitation delivered to the western Indians led, after repeated delays, to the Lancaster Treaty of 1762. Post and Hays returned home, and in early July submitted their journals to the Governor. Post's journal is not to be found among the State's records, though copies are preserved elsewhere; and it has not yet been published.[6] Hays' journal survives in the Division of Public Records and was included among the documents published by Samuel Hazard in the first series of the PENNSYLVANIA ARCHIVES.[7]

More recently, through the efforts of Dr. S. K. Stevens and the kindness of Mrs. John C. Hays, a descendant of the journalist, the rough day-to-day diary kept by John Hays has also been made available. Hurriedly written under difficult conditions, hardly legible, this diary contains many details omitted from the more composed journal. Accordingly, both documents are here presented; the journal for its conciseness and greater legibility, the diary for its fuller and more vivid detail. In many instances the former clarifies obscure passages in the latter. Neither of Hays' accounts stresses the diplomatic side of the story, which appears in details in Post's journal, the rough notes for which have not been found.

John Hays, some twenty years Post's junior, was about thirty years old at the

4. Possibly the son mentioned in 1756 as Keomitas. He seems to have gone to the Ohio soon after this. In the spring of 1759 he went from Kuskuskies (New Castle, Pa.) to Pittsburgh, where he engaged to spy for the British garrison. Thereafter he seems to have visited in the East, and to have spent some time at Wyoming. Upon the outbreak of Pontiac's War, he massacred the Connecticut settlers at Wyoming, whom he may have held responsible for his father's death; and he and other hostile Indians then retired to Canisteo. Some of Johnson's raiders captured him early in 1764; and he was kept prisoner at New York until the conclusion of peace in May, 1765, when he was released. Samuel Lightfoot wrote of him in 1759 that "his carriage is affable & Genteel according to the Common acceptation"; Johnson described him, in 1764, as "a fellow of great address, but feigns an ignorance, & is full of prevarication, he is very likely & remarkably active." He should not be confused with John Bull, captain in the Pennsylvania Regiment, who commanded at Fort Allen in the summer of 1758 and accompanied Post on his second trip to the Ohio.

5. Canisteo is the Iroquois name, from a Seneca word for a board (according to Sherman S. and Clara Redeye, **ganisti'o** in modern Allegany Seneca). Passigachkunk (German spelling) is a Delaware equivalent, from **passikach,** a board, and **-unk,** a locative suffix. In Provincial records a shorter form of the name, Secaughcung, is more common. (See note 55 below.)

6. References in the present article are based on a copy in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

7. Vol. III, pp. 735-741. This journal belongs to the papers of the Provincial Council, but the manuscript is now in a collection identified as "Journals and Diaries."

time of this mission. According to family tradition, he was born in Northern Ireland and was brought by his parents to America two years later, about 1732. His father, John Hays, kept a tavern at present Weaversville, near Northampton. The younger John Hays was married on October 21, 1760, a few months after his journey with Post; and the same notebook which contains his diary of that trip also records the birth of fifteen children, five born to Barbara King, who died in 1770, and ten to his second wife, Jean Walker. Hays served as a militia captain during the Revolution. Some years later, he travelled to present Meadville, Pennsylvania, to examine some land which the Moravians had offered to sell him; and while there he died suddenly, on November 5, 1796.[8]

Because Hays' diary is valuable for the picture it gives of the Indians then living on the Chemung River and its branches, it may be well to identify these briefly. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War, those Unami ("downriver") Delawares[9] who had not moved to the Ohio lived about Shamokin (present Sunbury) and upward, along the North Branch; Nutimus[10] (an "upriver" Delaware) lived at Nescopeck; Teedyuscung,[11] formerly one of Nutimus' band, and Paxinosa,[12] a Shawnee, lived at Wyoming; Munsee Delawares lived about the mouth of the Lackawanna River and elsewhere. In 1755-56, however, almost all these Indians fled up the river, to Tioga and beyond; some of them went west to the Allegheny, others settled along the Chemung and its branches, as far up as Canisteo, under Seneca supervision. Nutimus, however, remained at his old home until 1758. Following upon a reconciliation at Easton in 1756, Teedyuscung returned to Wyoming, where the Province built him a new town; and a peaceful sect of Munsees moved back down the river to Wyalusing. In consequence of some later uneasiness, however, Nutimus also retired to the Chemung area; and in 1760, shortly before the time of Teedyuscung's embassy, Paxinosa removed from Tioga to the Ohio country.

The subsequent history of these Indians also deserves mention. About 1761, the Unami Delawares at Canisteo moved to the Ohio; and Nutimus moved to the Big Island, in the West Branch near Lock Haven. During Pontiac's War, raiders sent out by Sir William Johnson in 1764 drove the remaining Indians from the Chemung, and many of the fugitives established themselves on the upper Allegheny, in present Forest County, Pennsylvania. David Zeisberger, who journeyed by way of Canisteo (Passigachkunk) to the Allegheny in 1768 and 1769, found only

8. See also SCOTCH-IRISH OF NORTHAMPTON CO. (Easton, 1926), I, 80-81, 98-101, 116.
9. Unami (Wename) is a name applied in records of 1757 and later to those Delawares, formerly headed by Alumapees or Sassoonan (d. 1747), who regarded the lower Delaware River area, below Tohickon Creek, as their original home. In earlier records they are called "Schuylkill Indians" or "Delawares of Shamokin." For the meaning of the name, compare **nahih,** downstream; **nahimen,** to sail downstream; **nahiwi,** down the water; and their counterparts, **nallahih, nallahhemen, nallahiwi,** upstream, etc., in Brinton and Anthony: A LENAPE-ENGLISH DICTIONARY (Philadelphia, 1888), 90. For Unalimi, the counterpart of Unami, see note 10, following
10. Originally from New Jersey, Nutimus lived in the 1730's in present Bucks Co., Pa., above Tohickon Creek, and signed the 1737 confirmation deed for the "Walking Purchase." He lived subsequently at Nescopeck, Canisteo, and the Big Island, where he is last mentioned in 1763. Stories of his later residence and death in the Ohio country involve confusion between "Old King Nutimus" and his son, Isaac Nutimus. The name "Unalimi, or up River Indians," which occurs in a document of about 1757 as a name for Nutimus' followers, never came into common use; in earlier records they are called "Delawares from the Forks."
11. See note 1, above. In 1762, Teedyuscung said he had been with Nutimus' band in the 1730's, and that he had later succeeded to Nutimus' place. See PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON (Albany, 1921-), III, 778-779.
12. Appears in 1749 as one of the signers of a deed for land north of the Blue Mountain. His best-known place of residence was at Wyoming, near present Wilkes-Barre; but he moved to Tioga about 1758, and in 1760 went to the Ohio country, "where he was born." A later Shawnee settlement in present Ohio bore his name, and members of his family still lived in that vicinity in the 1770's. He was friendly toward the English, and his wife, Elizabeth, was a Moravian convert.

abandoned townsites on the upper Chemung. Teedyuscung's town at Wyoming was abandoned after his death in 1763; survivors removed to the west. The Wyalusing Indians, on the other hand, took refuge at Philadelphia during this war; and their town, resettled after the war, survived until 1772 as the Moravian mission of Friedenshütten.

JOHN HAYS' JOURNAL, MAY 5—JUNE 30, 1760

A memorandum inserted into the Provincial Record makes note of the return of Post and Hays, and adds that "Each of them deliver'd the Journal of their Travels and proceedings which are ordered to be lodged with the Council papers."[13] Hays' journal, which seems to have been in official custody ever since, is contained in seventeen pages, 6½ by 7½ inches, since bound and stamped with the slightly inaccurate title, JOURNAL OF JOHN HAY'S 1760. Comparison with the diary shows that the formal journal is the result of considerable rewriting. As might be expected, the journal is conspicuously more literary than the rough notes of the diary. Descriptions of Indian ritual, and other irrelevant material which appears in the diary, are excluded from the journal. Changes of spelling and some other revisions suggest assistance in rewriting. In the diary, Hays recorded the distance covered each day of travel, and usually noted the direction; yet these useful notes are omitted from the journal. The diary also records what Hays saw or heard of white prisoners among the Indians; this was in accord with Post's official instructions, but these data too are omitted from the journal. Whatever the reason for these omissions, it is to be noted that Post's journal lacks the same information.

13. Manuscript Provincial Record, S, 20; COLONIAL RECORDS, VIII, 491.

In the following text, bracketed words in italics represent cancellations in the original manuscript; bracketed words in roman type indicate interlinear or marginal insertions.

Monday May 5th 1760—

Received A Letter from Mr Post with orders to be in Readyness and to come Down Next Day to Bethlehem to See him—

May 6th Tuesday Went to Bethlehem and Saw Mr Post Who told me he would be at my fathers[14] the Eight consulted about fitting out and So Returned the Same Night

7th Wednsday Spent the Day in Getting Ready to Go

8th Thursday Got my Horse Shod and waited Mr Posts comeing who came in the Evening—

Freday 9th Set out Early and arived at ffort Allen[15]

Saturday 10th Heasie Wether Set off from fort allen at Eight oclock and traveled till it Was Late through avast Desert Lodged in the Woods—

Sunday 11th Sett to the way Early and Arived at Weoming[16] in the Evevening Where we were Informed that Teedyuscung was Set off on his Journey this Morning but they Sent for him Imediatly on our comeing—

Monday 12th Teedyuscung came home About Eleven oclock and we had Several confrences With him this Day—

Tuesday 13th Wrought at Makeing Belts and Strings of our Wampum Was Used Very Kindly and talked of Going Next Day—

14. Hays' tavern, present Weaversville, near Northampton, Pa.

15. Present Weissport. Built 1756 by Benjamin Franklin, at the site of the former Moravian mission of Gnadenhuetten. In 1760 this post was commanded by an officer whom Richard Peters described as "a German one Wackerberg a poor creature who keeps no Authority and as Mr Post says gives Quantities of Provisions to a parcel of Indians yt are perpetually passing to and fro for Rum."

16. Wyoming, at present Wilkes-Barre.

Wed:y 14 Very Rainy Wether So that we could not set out So we folowed our old Buisiness of Belt makeing—

Thursday 15 Wether the Same so that we wer Oblidged to Ly [*Still*] by as Before and Mad Belts—[17]

Friday 16 Designed Going But Teedyuscung would not Go Untill he had afeild of corn planted first and we all asisted him and planted it this Day—[18]

Satturdy 17th Set of Early and traveled Smartly Crosed a Large Creek about one clock Called ahlahonie[19] and So folowed Our course up the East Side of the Sisquhana River till Night and Set up our tents in an Old Indian town called Q[u]elootama[20] Being fourteen in Number in all—[21]

Sunday 18th Wet Wether Never theless we traveled Smartly crosed avery Large creek called wash coking[22] Lodged on the Banks of Sisquhana and had aVery Wet Night of it—

Monday 19th Set of Early tho wet and Arived at a town called Quihaloosing[23] the Governours Name Wampoonham[24] aVery Religeous civilised man in his own way and Shewd us agreat Deal of Kindness and we held a confrence with him this Evening and When Over Mr Post Gave us asermon at their Request—

Tuesday 20th they called us to council and Seemed to be Very freindly and Delivered to Teedyuscung three prisnors by astring and promised to bring them Soon Down this town is Situated on Sisquhana East side about twenty Houses full of People Very Good Land and Good Indian Buildings all New had Sermon this Evening again—

Wednsday 21st they told us there was another prisnor in their town but the man that had hir would not consent to Give hir Up yet but if he Did not he Should Leave their town We Set off about Eleven oclock and crosed Quihaloosing Creek about amile above the town Shortly after there came four Indians after us and told us there was bad News Where we Were Going for one of their Indians being out ahunting had Spied afire and comeing up to it there he found an Indian Lying asleep as he thought covered up with his Matchcoat and he presumed it was none of their people Seeing afrench Ketle and so was Going off When the Sleeper Awoke and Spying him Waved his hand to him as tho he wanted to Speake with him But when he came Back he could not Understand him nor the Other him but takeing the Delawar Gun to Look at [*it*] it as he thought Shot the Delaware through the arm and Broke it when the Delaware Ran away and Escaped tho hard pursued for a great Way[25] then we Loaded all with bullets and The Indians Seemed Exceedingly Afraid We traveled Through Swamps Rocks and Mountains About 15 Miles then came to the River and took up Lodgeing [*at*] On the Bank—[26]

Thursday 22d Set out Early and came to Diahoga[27] & Crosed the East Branch[28]

17. On this date, Post records, "Mr. Hays & Isaac Still went a fishing but catch'd little or nothing."
18. We may wonder why this task was more urgent now than a week earlier, when Teedyuscung had set out without attending to it.
19. In Post's journal, **Lechchowechlegs;** Lackawanna River.
20. Quilutimunk or Wyolutimunk; near present Ransom, Lackawanna Co.
21. Listed in Post's journal: "Fred. Post, King Teedyuscung. Capt Jno. Bull, [Capt.] Amos, Lieut. Hays, Capt. Moses Tattamy, [Capt.] Isaac Still, James. Chappe, Chechequait, or George & his Wife Chupotetis."
22. Meshoppen Creek
23. In Hays' diary, **Machailucen;** in Post's journal, **Machachlosung.** Present Wyalusing.
24. Not named in the diary or in Post's journal. A letter written by Post on May 20 calls him **papounnahang** (see PA. ARCHIVES, first series, III, 742). He had lived at Lackawanna, and had established his religious group about 1752. In 1758, Moses Tatamy had met him above Tioga, but he settled at Wyolusing later that year. Baptized by the Moravians, June 26, 1763, he appears afterward as John Papunhang. He died in 1775, in present Ohio.
25. Post refers to this incident only briefly, under date of May 23, after he had been assured of its truth.
26. At **Wesachsing** (Wysox), according to Post.
27. Tioga Point, below present Athens, Pa.
28. The Susquehanna River, above the Point. Here, on July 3, 1758, "in wading the River Moses Tetamy was almost drowned."

about 2 oclock Teedyuscung had a confrence with the cheifes and Sent Some Strings up the East Branch to the cheifes to Meet us at asinsan[29] and Set of Imediatly and went about 6 miles and Set up our camp at Snake hole—[30]

friday 23d Set of Early and Arived at asinsan[31] in the Evening there Stayed all night—

Satturday 24th Sent astring to the Mingoes at Paciksakcunk[32] to call them to council and Staid for the Return this Day the Indians Began to Sacrifice to their Gods and Spent the Day in avery odd manner Howling and Danceing Raveling Like Wolves and Painted frightfull as Divels—

Sunday 25th this Day our Messenger Returned without any Answer[33] the Indians went on in the Same Manner as Yesterday—

Monday 26th the Indians Haveing Got Rum Got Drunk all in General Except Some old men and Teedyuscung Behaved well on this Ocasion for when his Sone[34] brought in the Kegg with Rum he would not taste it we were Very Much Abused and Scolded by the Indians and thretned Often to Rost us—

Tuesday 27 this Day about one clock Daniel Benet[35] came Down from the Mingos town and told us that they Bid us welcome to this town but if we came any farther they Would Rost us in the fire and that they Desired that none of the Nations on Sisquhana Should Give their prisnors it was their orders that that they Shoud keep them and Bid us Go home the Way we came and come any farther we held council Imediatly to conclude What was best to be Don With the King and Cheifs present and their minds were that we Should Stay some time till they would See the Reasons and Said they would Make them come to council and Give their Reasons it was atime of Danger But we trusted that God would Protect us and Direct us for the Best Both as to our particular Sircumstances and Publick Good—

Wedy 28 the Indians told us that Sr William Johnston has Corospondence with the french[36] some told us to Go home and Bury the Indians that were Kiled Near Carlile[37] or they Would come and Bury them them Selves Soon, We took Teedyuscung out and Began to talk with him by him Self concerning our haveing to turn back he told us the Mingoes and Governour Use to have Confrences by themselves and did not trouble him but Said he was afool & he would not have any [*hand in it*] part in their Diferences and hoped [*now*] that their Roguery Would be found out now—[38]

Thursday 29th Waited for Some Mesages but came not

friday 30th we began to Make Ready Belts and Strings and Speeches Wrote in a Large

29. Post says, "to call the Nanticokes [at Chenango], Mennissings, & Mohickons, to meet us at Atsenetsing."
30. Identified by Post as "Aschkokuckwawalochtet, (which Signifieth a hole where the Snakes harbour)."
31. Called by Post **Atsennetsing.** A Munsee town just east of present Painted Post, N. Y. As previously noted, Moses Tatamy had visited this place in 1758.
32. This message probably was sent by the Indians; the diary records, vaguely, that "they had Sent for the chifes," and Post makes no mention of the matter. **Paciksakcunk** is Post's **Sekachkung** or **Pasekachkung** (see note 5 above). **Mingoes** is a term loosely applied to any of the Six Nations or to Indians of other origin incorporated with them.
33. The diary dates this incident May 26; Post reports it on the 27th.
34. Identified in the diary and in Post's journal as Captain Bull.
35. Identified by Post as **Shomoko Daniel.** Also known as Essoweyowallund, Shamokin Daniel appeared at Philadelphia in 1758 as a messenger from Secaughcung. He subsequently accompanied Post on the latter's first trip to the Ohio, and tried to sell him to the French at Ft. Duquesne. He was among the hostile Indians in Pontiac's War.
36. This story may refer to a meeting on Feb. 13-14, at which Six Nations Indians told Johnson that they had met with pro-French Iroquois delegated by tribes in the French interest.
37. A Delaware Indian, Doctor John, and his family had been murdered near Carlisle in February.
38. Teedyuscung had made this same complaint to Governor Denny in October, 1759. Probably he denounced Teedyuscung's claims to authority. refers to the private conferences at the 1758 Easton Treaty, when Six Nations spokesmen had

hand that Isace Still Might Read them,[39] We Got word that the Meseag we Sent from Diahog is on foot but no Answer from it But we all waited for it Teedyuscung Got my Gun and Gave me a litle fuzee for it—

Sat:y 31st Waited without any Answers —[40]

June 1st we Sent a Mesuag with Moses tamey and Capt Bull Teeduscungs son to the Mingoes Again—[41]

Mon:y 2:d we were Diverted With astrang Storey that they told us of the Indians at Diahoga Seeing a Vision in the Moon on May the 29th Viz that they Saw 2 horses in the Moon one came from the East the other from the west and they fought abatle and the Eastrly horse prevailed and threw the other Down and fell atop of him and then Men apeared about one foot Long from the East and Drove all before them [*the S*]— turn over[42] the Indians were Very Much Greived at this Strang sight and Wanted to Know our opinions of it but we thought best to say nothing about it[43] Moses and Bull came Back in the Evening and brought the Disagreeable Answer that we must Go back and and proceed any farther for they had Some bad people in their country and they Would not come to us for they Durst not trust us because of them that was Killed Over Sisquhana—[44]

Tuesday 3d we Delivered Several Belts and Strings and other things [to Teedyuscung] that we could Spare and that he had need of[45] in the Evening Robert whites son came[46] with a Letter and Belt and string and Very Agreeable Speeches—

Wednsday 4th We thought to Set homewards but it Rained Very hard they told us they wanted to have more talk before we came away with us young white and the King[47] had along talk by them selves and we waited for the council Meetting and Shod our horses Expecting to Go Some Up and Some Down we were alway alarmed with Some Bad News they told us of one of their women that was Killed at Albany

Thursday 5th there was agreat Sacrific of ahogg Which Gathered Agreat Number of them together and after their Sarificial Rites were Over they Encouraged us to Go on But we could not see it clear for the old father Mingo[48] always Sent us word not Go but that Teedyuscung and his Indians Might Go but that we should not Go Nor any White man Should pas through their country But being Unwiling to turn and at the Request of Teeduscung who Was Desireous of our company We [*Ventured*] Designed to Go as far as Paseckachkunk if possible.

Friday 6th We all Set of for Paseckachkunk and came James Davises[49] about Noon and Dined With him plentifuly but proceeded farther tho it Raind Lodged on the bank of the West Branch[50] in Woods—

39. Post says, "I gave Isaac Still my Message to carry to the Mingoes." Two days later he changed his mind and gave the message to Moses Tatamy. Still's ability to read is also mentioned in Post's second Ohio journal of 1758.
40. Post records that on this day "Mr Hay went out to shoot Pidgeon's but got none."
41. Post says the Indians decided "to send a Message to Sachkachkung [Secaughcung] to compell the Unamoas [Unamies] . . . to come down. They desired me to do the same to the Mingoes at Sachkachking, as they themselves would have nothing to do with them."
42. This marks the end of the seventh page of the manuscript.
43. The story probably was told the white men in expectation that their response would reveal their motives. Post tells of a somewhat similar incident on June 10.
44. See note 37 above.
45. The white men are preparing to return home, as ordered by the Mingoes; Teedyuscung is to go on to the western council. It will be noted that Hays' memoranda, printed at the end of the present article, record a sale of supplies on this date.
46. Robert White (Wolahcremy or Ullauckquam) was chief of the Nanticokes at Chenango.
47. Teedyuscung.
48. Presumably the Seneca spokesman (Kinderunty? See note 141 following).
49. James Davis, or Awehela, was an Unami Delaware. After Pontiac's War he was instrumental in establishing a Moravian mission at Sheshequin, and on May 18, 1769, became its first convert.
50. Presumably this refers to the present Canisteo River, in contrast to the present Tioga River, which would have taken them south. According

Saturday 7th Rained Very hard [we] Sent Bull[51] before us Early and we all followed pased Several Litle Towns arived at Paseckachkunk about four oclock after croseing the River five times this town Stand on the South Side of the River[52] and is in two parts at the Space of amile Distance Where ther is two Sorts of people the Nearest part is peopled with Wonamies[53] Quitigon[54] is their Cheif the Uper part is Mingoes which commands All that country[55] We halted at the Lower town and in the Evening there came nine or ten from the Mingo town and Looked Very Sower and Divelish But went of after Some time

Sunday 8th the Indians Gathered Up from all the Litle towns we had pased above Diahog to See w:t would be Done—

Monday 9th this Day Waited for the council to Gather and was Entertained at a Sacrifice of the first Deer aman had kiled this Season we sent for the Old Mingo father to come to council and he came and heard our Speeches Which pleased him and promised Us an answer tomorow—

Tuesday 10 We Got an answer from him to this Efect that he Liked our Business and called [it] a good work But that we asked him ahard Qestion that was whither we might Go through his country or not but [we thought] he had Sent a Mesage away to his Cheife and that he had Got no Answer as yet so could not Give us any—

Wed:y11 the Delawares and Wonamies and Muncies[56] Held [*could*] council and all aGreed on it that we were to Go forward on our Journey and Quitigon was to Go with us But we must Stay Untill he would Get his New house covered there was Rum in this town But Teedyuscung would not Drink of it nor Alow any of his company to Drink But when he was Invited to it Said it was not to Drink that he came here but to Do Greater Buisness—

Thursday 12th We being in Want of Provisions we Bought abull Which cost 1400 Wampum[57] and Rosted the flesh for our Journey the Delawares and Muncies went of all away home but before they went of they Lifted a Large colection of Wampum for our Suport on the Journey—

friday 13th We went to work at Quitogons House the Misquiteis Bit us So bad that I was Oblidged to Wrap my hankercheif about my face there was none that Stayed but Isace Still and Jamey peepy[58] and me [*and*] for their young men Went all away to the Other town and Got Drunk So the work went Slowly on—

Saturday 14th we Got word that the french

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to the diary, they travelled about 20 miles in a northwest direction from "Asinsan."

51. Captain Bull.
52. See the diary for a discrepant statement of the time of arrival and of the position of the town.
53. Unamies, called by Post **Unamoas** or **Unamowa.** The name does not appear in Hays' diary.
54. Not named in the diary until June 12. Post calls him **Quetackon** or **Kewetaickond.** He appears in the 1740's among the followers of Alumapees, who died in 1747. After some delay, Alumapees' nephew Shingas, who had moved to the Ohio, was appointed his successor; but "Quitigon" seems to have become the chief of those Unamies who remained on the Susquehanna. By June, 1761, he had moved to Kuskuskies, at present New Castle, Pa.
55. Compare a statement of July 9, 1758, by Lawrence Burck, a trader who lived at this place (see COLONIAL RECORDS, VIII, 147; PENNA. ARCHIVES, first series, III, 478-9): "On his examination says. That 20 of these Indians now present besides himself & Wife came from the Town where he lives situate about Sixty Miles on the Cayuga Branch above Diahogo called Secachkunk. Kaniushty or Board Town. "a Town about 2 miles above his in it are Mesquackon. 9 families. Kaniushto" (MS. Provincial Papers, XXVII, 23).

The **Mesquackon** were a band of Fox Indians who had settled among the Senecas. Post notes their presence at the council held on June 9.

56. The Munsees (or Minisinks) were northern Delawares from near the northern corner of New Jersey, with whom other bands had become incorporated. For the Unamies, see note 9 above. As used here (and in Post's journal), the name **Delaware** seems to include any bands other than Munsees and Unamies.
57. According to the diary, the cost was 3 pounds 10 shillings, indicating an exchange rate of 20 wampum to a shilling.
58. James Peepy was a step-son of Joseph Peepy, one of David Brainerd's Indian congregation, who had moved to Teedyuscung's town at Wyoming and later became associated with the Moravians. Minutes of the Friendly Association record, Dec. 20, 1756, "that Joseph Peepys desires we would take his wife's son, named James, aged about seventeen years, and put him an apprentice . . . for four years, between this and next spring; the parents and the lad prefer a wheelwright trade."

had beseiged the English at the falls or Niagra and that they were fighting now[59] [&] that there was 7 or 8 Mohawk[60] kings on their Journey and they Expected they would be with us this Night

Sunday 15th Instead of the 7 or 8 kings ther was but 2 Captains and a few cheifs or councilers came they Held aconfrence with us the king told them his Businiss and they took it to a consideration and so parted with us freindly but Reconed it Very Hard to Grant us Liberty to Go throw their country and Likewise to Demand our people that they had prisnors for there was an old agreement that no white man Should pas throw their country for fear of Spyes to See their Land—

Mon:y 16 we Got our final Answer to Go home and they were Sory that we wer in Teedyuscungs Bosom for they Said [they feared it] [*it*] Would be bad for them and the Delawares on Sisquhana for perhaps ther Would Rise astorm and the Limbs would fall and Knock our Brains out and they and the Delawares would be Sorry for it Lest they Should be Blamed for it and that they Had begun a good Work of peace themselves and Was Going to Alegeny Soon to confirm it[61] But was positive in their Answer that we Must Go home but Mr Post Insisted Upon aReason and a Liberty to Speake further Upon it which [*which*] they alowed and Invited him to come up to the Mingo part of the town Next Day and they would Hear him

Tuesday 17 we went up to the place where we had been often threatned if we came they would Rost us[62] but they were Civel to us when there altho one felow[63] Gave me Great Blow acrose the Back as we were Going up to the town Mr Post Made a speech and their Answer was that they Desired us to pity their womon and Children and Go Back and we Must Go Back then we Resolved we would not Insist any further finding it was to no purpose but Make ourselves Ready as Son as posible to come home again.

Wednsday 18 Waited all Day for an Escort to conduct us Safe Back again [*in Safty*] Quitigon Made agreat complaint that he had don a great Deal for the English but had never Got any Reward for it and and that he had no horse So we concluded to Give him in the Name of the Governour the horse and Saddle that I Rode to Go to Alegeny

Very Wet Wether—

Thursday 19th Took Leave of Our felow travilers and and Set of home altho we were not Sory to Leave that place yet we were Sory to turn Back So fruitles The King Sent Moses and the Mohawks Sent four of their young men with us[64] as far as James Davises wher we stayed all night—

Friday 20th Waited for an Escort[65] and wer Very Kindly Used this is an Ordinary Country Nothing but Mountains and Rocks and pine timber Save the Small Low lands the Indians plants their corn on

Saturday 21st Very Rainy Weather Waited Still for an Escort—

Sunday 22 Moses [tatemy] altho Ordered

59. Sir William Johnson had taken French Ft. Niagara on July 25, 1759. The present rumor was false, and perhaps was invented to alarm Post and Hays.

60. **Mohawk,** like **Mingo,** was loosely applied to any of the Six Nations.

61. From data in Post's journal and elsewhere, it appears that this may refer to the Sandusky councils to which Teedyuscung had said he was invited.

62. See the entry for May 27.

63. Identified in the diary as **Pasckokung.** Post, in his entry for this day, identifies him as a Shawnee, and later gives his name as **Pashechgua;** he may be the Shawnee named Passechguon who attended the Easton treaty of Nov., 1756. See also the entry in Hays' diary for June 17, and the accompanying note.

64. Post says there were three "Mingoes"; that Teedyuscung sent one of his young men; and that Tatamy returned of his own choice.

65. Post reports, on this date, that Tatamy and the young man had changed their minds and decided to accompany Teedyuscung. Post meanwhile dismissed the three "Mingoes" on the pretext of staying some time at James Davis's.

to come home with us Left us this Day Saying he had Some Business to Do for the Quakers and could not Know what to Say to the Qakers if he Did not Go along and would not come any further with us but went after Teedyuscung, we Got an Escort[66] and Set of and traveled Smartly till we came to asinsan and had Some Discourse with Eghohowin the Governour of the town[67] who told [*us*] he had no orders from the Mingoes to Bring in any prisnors and he Did not Mind Teedyuscung Seeing he had no Orders from them pased on [*and*] Untill Night and Lodged in the Woods

Mondy 23 it Rained Very hard but we Set off and came to french Margrets[68] about ten oclock and Got Breakfast She being Very Kind She Made complaint and Said She Did not Know what to Do for She had been Ill Used at Shomokein[69] and threatned and that [they told her that][70] M[r] Petters[71] had Said That hir and hir family Shou[d] be apprehended and She Said She had Some prisnors She Wanted to Bring Down but Durst not Bring them But we promised hir protection and Safety if She came this Road by fort allen Notwith Standing it Rained We Set of and came to [*fort*] Diahoga and stayd there all Night

Tuesday 24 the River was Very high and Dificult to crose but we Swam our Horses Over and Got a canoo for our Selves and Bagage and pushed on over hills and Mountains an Extream bad Road and cam to Quihaloosing Creek after Dark but could not Get Over in to the town So w made fire and Stayd all Night

Wednsday 25[th] Got Over in the Morning to Quihaloosing with Dificulty and Stayed all Day waiting for an Escort and Guide—

Thursday 26 Set off and John Rodgers[72] came with us it Began to Rain Very Hard we Got a canoo & Rodgers went in it and took our Bagage by watter and we Rode along Shore We met about noon and Eat Something then I took the canoo my Spell till night and Swamed our Horses over a great Creek and Stayd there all Night but Got litle Sleep the Knates Bit So hard—

Friday 27 Very Rainy weather M[r] Post took the cannoo this Morning and the horses and about Eleven oclock we came to a narow pass wher the horses with Hight of the River was oblidged to Swime a considerable way and had to all in the Canoo then took our horses again and had to Swim another Large Creek & Climbe many ahill So that our horses were almost wore out but at Lenth we Got to Weoming thank God—

Saturday 28 Set of from Weoming and and traveled Over the Mountains and Lodged in the woods and had Very wet Weather

66. According to Post, a messenger who had arrived June 19 from Wyalusing and was now returning home. In his diary, under date of June 25, Hays identifies the escort as "Tobe Deanes . . . and A nother Man"; and says that James Davis also accompanied them to "Asinsan."
67. The diary does not mention this interview; and Post says it took place June 21, at James Davis's. Post's version is probably the correct one. This Munsee chief was one of three to whom Moses Tatamy had delivered a message in 1758 (see note 2 above); and he was the head of the Munsee delegation to the Easton treaty of that year. It appears from Hays' diary and Post's journal that they had lived in his house at "Asinsan" on their upward journey. After Pontiac's War, this chief lived at Sheshequin.
68. French Margaret was probably a niece (though also called a daughter) of the well-known Madam Montour, of French-Indian origin. Before the French and Indian War, French Margaret lived near present Franklin and Williamsport, Pa., but by 1756 had moved to the Chemung, at or near present Elmira, N. Y. Her husband is called Katarioniecha or Peter Quebec; a son, Nicholas Quebec, and two daughters, Mary and Catherine, appear in contemporary records. Post's journal notes that on the upward journey the embassy passed French Margaret's on May 23, without stopping.
69. Shamokin, present Sunbury, Pa., site of Ft. Augusta and of a Provincial trading post. French Margaret and her family had been there to trade in early May.
70. Written in the margin.
71. Richard Peters, the Provincial Secretary. Presumably, the threats had been made by the garrison commander, Col. Hugh Mercer, or by the Provincial agent, Nathaniel Holland.
72. Apparently another Indian living at Wyalusing; he accompanied Post and Hays to Wyoming. The name of John Rogers appears in the records of the Shamokin trading post.

Sunday 29 Set out Early and it Rained we Rod Lehi So Deep that [y^e] water came Over the Horses Withers and Arived at fort allen at five Oclock
Monday 30 Set of Early and came to my fathers against Noon &c &c

JOHN HAYS' DIARY, MAY 17—JUNE 28, 1760

The following text covers 35 pages of a small notebook, the remainder of which is filled with business accounts, family records, home remedies, and other data. Almost all of these are of later date than the diary; three memoranda relating to the journey of 1760 will be found at the end of the present article. Two sheets of the notebook have broken loose, and the apparent loss of two others probably explains the somewhat abrupt beginning on May 17. Fortunately, the earlier entries probably contained little of exceptional importance. The diary has all the earmarks of hastily written notes. There is no division of sentences, spelling is notably irregular, and hurried penmanship is aggravated by accidental confusion of letters.

This diary presumably was written at Post's suggestion; and the notes regarding white prisoners are in accord with his official instructions.[73] It also contains a record, however, of many matters irrelevant to the official purpose of the trip; and in this irrelevant material, eliminated in preparing the official journal, lies most of the diary's value.

The text has been transcribed from the manuscript original, a microfilm copy of which is in the custody of the Historical and Museum Commission. As in the printed text of the journal, bracketed words in italics represent cancellations in the original manuscript, and bracketed words in roman type indicate interlinear or marginal insertions. Empty brackets indicate damaged or illegible portions of the manuscript.

17 Seterdy we Set out[74] A Nore est corse A Bought 8 Miles we cr[ ]ALehoiene[75] and Eate Our Diner an[ ] Went A North corse till Night and Lodged in Quelotmoe that Night 12 miles we had in Number 12 ind[ ] in compen[ ][76]

18 Sundy Moring we Treviled and had A wat Day and came to Tinguanet [crik][77] abot 13 miles and came to A Nother crice cal[ ] Weshaking[78] we came A Bough[ ] 30 Miles that Day—

19 Mondy Weat in the Mornin[ ] we Set of and came to a Tow[ ] caled Mochailucen[79] A Bought Three A clock and Piched our Tents and Eat Diner Our Cook was Neaxty and Maid Very Bad Brot[ ] For ous[80] I could Not Joene With then [*And*] That is A Pout Ten Miles 10 Miles [*xxx*] we held A confrances that Night and had Prayers by Mis Poist[81] that Nig[ ]

20 Tustey We were cald to A confrance and the Seemed in A very Good Dispesion fo[ ] Peas and Very cind and Give us [ ] of Provesion in[82] A mesort o[ ] Bene cakes and [ ] [ ]e Heald two or thre confrances [ ] Them and the Deliverd to the King[83] [3] Prisener In trelys But I have Not Sen them vet the Towne Stanes in A fine Place and they hav find Buldings and Lives very Well and hase Plenty of corn and [*A*] A Fine Place of Land And there is About Sixty in Counsel of Men Which Seemed Very Relidges Peing De-

73. COLONIAL RECORDS, VIII, 469-472; the reference to prisoners will be found on page 471.

74. From Wyoming; compare the journal entry for this date.
75. Lackawanna River.
76. For these Indians' names, see note 21 above.
77. Tunkhannock Creek.
78. Meshoppen Creek.
79. Wyalusing.
80. "Our cook was nasty and made very bad broth for us."
81. Mr. Post.
82. The phrase which follows is indistinct and doubtful.
83. Teedyuscung, whose name does not appear in the diary.

sires to hae Mr Poist ot Spak [*o*] to them This Night we Saw the Prisners and there wase two Presented and they Said they had A Nother that was Not at home that Would come With them two one Litele Girel Named Yonica [12][84] Vanata from Alinick & another Mary frome [minicg] Tulphaking & A litel Boy Name was John His Parents Not None by us[85] But they had one that they Would [Not] Let us hav it but they Say he Must give it up if he Will Liv in their Town

21 Wendy A Bout 11 A clock we Set of and When we had Gone A Bout A Mile or two there came fore Inding After us[86] And Said that there wase Bade Nues Were we were Going and 6 Day A Go [ ]er wase one of thire Indeings [ ]t out to hont and [he Sawe] A Fier and A Indening Lying at it he prsived [*And a Mane*] He Wase None of their Papel for h[ ] had A Frensh catel And he woak and weaved His hand and would have him to come to him and Wen he came he Tuk his Gune and Looked at it and at Last Shot at hime Brok his arme and he Rine A way and Got home and they had Sume Discurs But cold Not onder Stand Eacn other But he Said he wase Lost and That there wase Six in compeney and they are Very much A feard of ware and We All Loded With Baule for wa[ ] We went A North corse A Bought 14 Miles Very Bad Roade and Lodged On the River[87] Got Sume Vinison and The Seemed All A fraid of ware

22 Thirsdy Mornig we had Tea till Bracfast [*and we*] and we Went A Bought 14 Miles and crosed Tigoa River A Bout two A cloce and had Sum take [with] A Chife and ther is Sum Litel Houses[88] and Sent by the King to Gethere them To Gether to hold councel in Sume of the Townes and we went A Bout 6 Mills that Night and We Lodg in Snake Hole

[ ]3 And Set of and came to cobes[89] Were we Got cine Usige and A Sump[t]es Diner & had Good Buter & Melk & Went on Our Jiurney & we Saw one Litel Prisner with A old Squa & we Sawe Sume Sorts of Hill chimes[90] & arived at A Sinsan that Night A Norwest corse ABought 25 Miles

24 Seterdy the Were all in Gaged in A kind of worship and had Provided three vineson and Two Beares and the west out Till the wodes and A Bout 10 Cl and came home A bout 11 or 12 cloce and were Dresed Lik Pilg[*m*]rimes and there wase 3[91] men and Two Wemen and 2 men & 2 Wemen and two Men and they had Grat Bunches of Flours one there heades and was Striped and pinted Be[*yon*]ond Neater[92] Sume Had Grene Rodes in thir hands and Snaks and Birdes & wonder full things Pented on them All colers One mane was Rid & one Womean Black they came in A String and they were All Neked from the Belt up and Went Rownd the house and went in and Dansed on and they Went out Sum times and Looked To wardes the Sun Rising Very oftens and tinued Night and Day and ther Wase A Grat Dell of Strengers Indings that Never Saw the Lik be fore Sum Old Men[93] they

84. Apparently, the name **Mary** was originally written here. The numeral **12,** written above the name, perhaps indicates the girl's age.
85. Post's list appears to be more accurate: "A Boy, his Name is Jacob from Tulpehocken, was brot. to this Town from Allegeny. A Girl Janetje, was taken from the Menissinks a Daughter of Peter Van Etten. A Young Woman, named Mary, born at Bedford in New England, but they cod. not tell me where She had been taken."
86. Post says, "Six Miles from thence three Indians from Atsenetsing overtook us."
87. At Wysox; see note 26 above.
88. This is superimposed on another word, and is uncertain.
89. Post gives the name of the place as **Queanashake,** probably near present Big Flats, N. Y. Cobus was a Delaware Indian whom Moses Tatamy had visited here in 1758. Post notes that he had formerly lived at Wyoming.
90. Hill chimneys? Perhaps the cliff formations on the south side of Chemung River.
91. Apparently, **5** was first written.
92. "Painted beyond nature."
93. "Many strange Indians, some of them old men, who had never before seen the like." Post reports that Cobus had told him "that there were a great Number of Indians together at Atsingnetsing to revive an Old quarterly Meeting which

had Sent For the chifes but is Not com yet

25 Sundy & they Song Never Went out of theire Mouth & A Bout one A cloce We were All invited in to Diner & we Sat till he[94] Shaked his Shell and Sung & Locked up and Danced A Great While and in his on way asked A Blesing and at Last he Give the chief A Porshion in his hand and A Dish Full to our king and it Lay on the Skins that was on it and the Seven that wase Pented Got two Peses of Fleash and one cace of Bread and we went in and and eat our Dinear and the Preast came in and Give Sum Litel pees of A Belt That was cot for that Bisness and Every one that Got of that and Sum got the Skines of the flesh Went out to Give thanks and they Looked to the Sun Rising and holoed With the Litel wampom in their hand and the Skines A Bout their Sholders our king Went From his Game of cards[95] and came Back Played to Lock and Peas the Skines wase Given to the old Squas and they Had them A Bout there Sholders and holoed Stoutly and There came A cege of Rum and Our king told his Young Men That they Should Not Drink But Bull[96] Did Not Here him and Went out and was out that Night

26 Mondy A Bout Ten A Clock Bull[96] came in With the ceage of Rum to his Father the king took [*one Drame*] [not on Drope] and Sent it [out] with Eameas[97] They were Dronk in Every corner We were A Still as Mis and quait Sume of them Wanted to have Rosted us for they Like as Maney Raiging Divels And Sum of the chiefes would not Teast of the Rum or We would have had A Bad time of hit we Looked the cloce Very often and Woushed for Night which came the Rum Wase Out and they Got Quait A Gaen The Meschender came Back and told That they would Not com[98] but we Weated for Sume Oth[e]re Mesches that was Not yet com we Slepe Well and Hoped that w might Never See the Like A Gean We had Sum Sport but Dorst not Lauf at it for it was So Strains A thing

27 Tustudy this Day was A Day [of] ware Very Bad News A Bout one A Clock I went to a frolick of Making of Fency & Deneal Benit[99] came Down from the Mingos town A Bout half A days Jorney of[100] and Said they Bid us Welkem To this town But if we came [*an*] aney forder they Would Rost Us in the Fire and that they Desired that None of the Natons on Sischania Shold Give up aney of the Prisners it was there orderes that they Shold keep them and Bid us Go home they wa[ ] we cane and Not come any far[ ]

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had been many Years laid aside, in which they related to each other their Dreams and Revelations every one had had from his Infancy, & what Strength & Power they had received thereby."

Post describes the ceremony as follows:

"24th. It was a very fine Day, & about 9 oClock they began their grand Festival, which afforded us an opportunity of seeing their Stupid & Tragical way of Worship. Their Priests or Conjurers, with about 10 Women, went first into the Woods to paint themselves according to their different Characters, their whole Bodies were painted all over with various Colours, some with the Addition of Rattle Snakes, some with Squirrils, others with Trees Birds &c. Thus adorned or rather disfigured, they came all in a Row into the Town singing as they went e. g. One of them began singing: 'I saw two English Bids flying together in Love,' which all the others repeated again 4 Times, after which they went in Procession 4 Times round the Meeting House & then turning their Faces toward Sun rise, hollowed all together as long as they had any Breath; Then they shook Hands with one another & call'd all the People to enter the House with them, where they continued Walking, Singing & hollowing the whole Day & Night untill 6 oClock in the Morning, when a Certain Spirit came over them & many wept bitterly.

"25th. In the Morning the whole Company came out & stood in a Row towards Sun-Rise lifting up their Hands towards Heaven & hollow'd Six Times with all their Force, shook Hands with one another and then went to every House to wish them a joyful good Morning. They came to us also, wish'd us the same, gave us their Hands in Love & Friendship & invited us to their Dinner."

94. Probably the "old priest" later mentioned; see note 109 below.
95. This is an interesting example of Indian adoption of white customs.
96. Captain Bull.
97. Amos, Teedyuscung's oldest son. He and his wife, Justina (a sister of Post's second wife, who died in 1751), had been baptized by the Moravians on Dec. 14, 1750, at which time Amos is said to have been about 22 years old.
98. See note 33 above.
99. See note 35 above.
100. The "upper town" at Canisteo (Secaughcung).

And Councl was Held By the king And the chifes that was there and They thought it Best that we Would Stay Sume tim til we Need What was the Reason of it and the would mak them come to councel and know the Reason that we Must Now G Go hom the Evening was Very Devl[101] But we Staid hoping that God Would Preserve us out of their Hands and Derict us for the Best and the Publick Good

28 Wensdy Not Ebony[102] they have[103] We herd that Sir Milliam Jonston Hase coriespond With the frensh and More thay are Mad A Bout The Inding that wase Killed over Siscuhano they Bad us Go hom and Bery them or We will Go and Bery Them our Selves Soone I have Seene Since I came to this Place But 3 Presners one wase A Girel A bout 18 Yeres of Eage [& *A Nother*] [But I Spoak to hir] and She would not Spak to Me I No not from where She came from and I Saw A [*Boy of A Bout 14 Years old*] I Saw A Litel Girel A Bout 5 or 6 Years old I now Noting of hir name the Boys Name is Daniel Williames from Mincsike his Father was kild and his Mother is Gon up to Jonston H Wase A Bout 14 years[104] And we went out to A confrance with The king And Expect we Will Sone part and the King Said he Would have No part in the Diferance But Would Let the Gov[e]roner and the Siniker Debet it them Selvs for they Used to confer With Them and Not call me for you Both Used to Say that I Was A Fool and Nod no thing But [*they*] that you will Soon See [the] Rougs

29 Thursdy I Saw one Litel Girel A [*bo*] Bout 7 or 8 Yeares of Eadg But I cannot Tell Name Nor Place Nor Wher She came from we Waited for Sum Moescesidges But they came Not We Lived Very Well For Vitels and Bede

30 [Fidy][105] We Begane to mak Redy Belts and String for them to take with Them to Aligenia that Isack Still might Read them to the[ ] We had to Draw it in Larg Riting So as he could Read it and we Herd that the Meshes that we Sent from Digoa is on fute but is Not com to us yet and we all Staid to here from it I heard of A Prisner Girel Sister to Williames Name is Elesabath[106] A Most A Woman There was A old Dronk felo that Plaiged the king But When he was Sober he cam and give A Bout Two or three 100 hondred wampom for A trespas or Tribut for his Be hayer in Liker I Give up my Gun to the King and and he Give Me A Nothe gun

31 Seterdy Nothing But I Saw A Boy of A Bout 12 years No nam nor from wheare He came from but he wase With John fidler[107] [we had] Good help and Plenty of Provesion

June the first

1 Sondy we Sent A Meseig With Moses Tatemey Aan Bulle This is the Sekend Meseig that We have Sent and I heard from My Peopel By two Squaas[108] and They wanted[have] Me to help to Bild A hous But I would Not

2 Mondy the old Preast[109] Goes Round the houses Every Morning and [Eveng] Sayes Sum Sort of Prayers and he hase A Book of Pickters whish he Maid him Self

101. This word is indistinct: **devilish?**
102. **Nota bene.** (Compare **Not Bney** in the entry for June 27.)
103. This sentence is evidently incomplete.
104. In Dec., 1755, Daniel Williams, the father, was killed, and his wife and five children captured in the Minisink region. Sir William Johnson later referred to information received in 1756 from "Margaret Williams . . . a Prisoner amongst the Delaware Indians."
105. Written in the margin.
106. See note 104 above. Elizabeth Williams and a brother, Henry, were released Aug. 19, 1762.
107. Apparently an Indian. One of John Hays' memoranda names an Indian, "John Fitler or Hays," probably the same person.
108. Possibly the "Two Women from beyond Atsenetsing" who, Post says, had come to Wyoming on May 16. If they went on from there to Bethlehem, they would pass Hays' home.
109. The name of this man is nowhere given, but it may be noted that Wangomen, a Munsee preacher whom Zeisberger met on the upper Allegheny in 1767, is said by him to have lived formerly at this town.

and there is Heaven and Hell and Rum and Swan hak[110] and Indiens and Ride Strokes for Rum[111] and he w o u l d Read Like Mad ofe it in the Morning and Sing to the Sune Rising May the 29 at Diaog the Peopel Saw A Straing Site in the Moon they Saw two horses In Batel and the one Next the Sun Set fell and the one Next Sun Riesing Prevled and they Saw Men falling on the horse that Fell Semed A Bout A fote Long and it was Seene By the Hole Town Men and Wemen The Indines was Very Much Sore Prised and vexed and Axed of us What it Meaned We Lived quite and Lved A Indien Life and Had Plenty of homeney But We had No fleash Sinc [the] Cantico[112] Tateme is come Back and Brings the Disegebel Newes that We Must Turn Bact and Not cary forder for the had Sum Bad Peopel in that contry But Would Not com to us for they Dorst Not Trust us Becase of them that was kiled over Siskhania & the Nonty okes[113] Was to com but they did Not com To To Pasikinking[114]

3 Tusty We had Plenty of Hominey But we had Now Bread Bull maid cofey and we Eat hominey and cofey to Gether and in the after Noon We had Teay the king Maid A kaake to it and We had Sum Buter Whit & Yelew and It Was Very Sweet and Good We Deliverd to the king Several Thing Was Making Ready for A Mearch & In the house Where we Lodged was the Governer and [*Acka*] his Nam is Achkonk Mincig Govenarner and in the other End of the hous A capen[115] and [*and he had*] He had A Borded Bedd and his Jornal on it and He was [*16*] 16 Times at the ware and had Taken 17 Prisners and there was one Women [&] the Reast had No heads on the Right hand and the Leaft A young capton[116] and his Jurnel he has Bean At ware 6 Times tok 4 two dead and 2 A Live The Preast of the Town he keepes count of the Week for the Hole Town and he Workes 5 Days and Keepes the 6 Day and they way That he ceepes count he has A Litel Stick with 12 holes [in it] and He Putis [*is*] it up A hol Every Morning[117] and he Reades his Picter Book till Noon and then Gose to his Work A Gain The Nantocok Chief Robert White Sent his Son with A Leater and Sayes he is Not Well and cold not com to See us but He Sent Sum Belts and Strings to the king and Spoake Well the Dansed All Night

4 Wensdy we thought to Set of but Reained Very hard and they Said That they Would Meet and Heve Sume talk Before we Went [Go] A way and the king and White Had A Long talk in the

110. **Swannock,** a white man.

111. This "Indian bible" is also described by Zeisberger (OHIO ARCH. AND HIST. QUARTERLY, XIX, 133, and XXI, 25); and the similar or identical device used by the contemporary "Delaware Prophet" is described by Heckewelder (HIST . . . OF THE INDIAN NATIONS . . ., 1881 ed., 291-293), Kenny (PA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., XXXVII, 171), and McCullough (Loudon: A SELECTION OF . . . OUTRAGES . . ., 1808 ed., 1, 324-325).

112. An Indian festival.

113. Nanticokes.

114. Passigachkunk; see note 5 above.

115. Under date of May 31, Post records: "The name of the Chief of this Town is Achkonaching, of the Mennissing Tribe, The Name of his adjutant is Wejachkaposing, signifying a Pumpkin roast'd on one side." The latter is Hays' "capen" (captain). For **Achkonaching** (Hays' **Eghohowin**), see note 67 above. Jachkapus, according to Moravian writers, led the hostile Indians who in 1755 destroyed their mission of Gnadenhuetten (see note 15 above). Also known as "The Squash Cutter," he was a leader of the hostile Indians in Pontiac's War, when Sir William Johnson offered a reward for his head. Surrendered as a hostage at the conclusion of peace in May, 1765, he died soon after of smallpox. Samuel Kirkland, who met him in March of that year, wrote: "The SQUASH CUTTER . . . is a noted head warrior of the Delaware nation. He has done a deal of mischief in the back parts of New Jersey and the Susquehanna; scalped many, and taken some prisoners. . . . His exploits depend much upon stratagem, and surprise. He was acknowledged by the Indians to be bold, and enterprising, but very cruel. He was about six feet two inches high, lean and raw-boned, but all nerve, and a most piercing eye, rather of a serpentine cast."

116. Hays means that the captain had his bed on the right side, the young captain had his on the left.

117. Such "calendars" are referred to by Gist (W. M. Darlington: CHRISTOPHER GIST'S JOURNALS, 39) and by Zeisberger (OHIO ARCH. AND HIST. QUARTERLY, XXI, 52, 56).

Litel hous and we waited For the Town Meeting it cleared A litel [& *and*] We Got All our horses Shod For to Go Sume [*y*] up and Sum Down for we lived in Sospence A Grait While and heard all Wise Sum Bad News we heard Of A Woman that was kild at Albeney and we Stay to See Sum Soart of A Seckerefisit Pig By the chiefs of the Town Sum times we Expect to Go home and Sum times we Expect to Go With the king But that Seemes very Dengres for they Spak very Sose and Sum times we talk of Going A Road A crose the To the other Brench and By The Ketin Town[118] and throw that was But we Do Not now What to Do the king Lead all the Belts out and there was Nine and 7 String and we Weated to here [*and so far*] and there wa[ ] Nothing

5 Thursdy the captten[119] that Liveed in the house had A hog and would Make A Sort of Sacrifise And that hog must Be kiled & they Kilead it in [the] Morning Be fore the Sun Rise and Brought it in and Lead With its head to the fire and its Tail to A Post and the Capton Sat and Sang half A Nour and they had Maid A fire out and they Singsed it and Boild it on the Same fire and Every One that Did Eat [they] Got A Grain of coren the Hous was Swept and [the] fleash put in two Baskets in Smale Pesess and they Give A Pees to Every One that Got the corn but he Song A Great Deel our king Recived and Gives all corn [*and when*] of his compney and we Got A pees of it and the head had A Stick Stopt in it and the capton took it and Song Round the fires and Set it Down to one of them and he Eate Sum and Gote up Agen and Sonung Round the fire and they All coreced with him and he Set it to Another til 10 or 12 Had hit and When the Bones Was Picked they give them to the caption and he Rose Up and and went Round and Song as he Went and at Last he put them in the fire we put [in the fire][120] [*all*] the Bones we Eat and Bornt it all and Every one Rose and West Rown [*and Song*] the fire and Song and They Hole compeny Joyned in coras and the Elders went Rown With the Fat and they Did drink it and When they came to Me I Would Not and they all Laft they Eat it With out Salt For it up Lik Mad[121] & they Went and Devided thre or for fadom of Wampm and Give it to them that did Dance and they Went out at The East Dore and Went Rown the hous Agenst the Sun and the capton first and they all foloed Souned to the Sun Rising and all haloed A Great While Sum Laft and Sum Look Mor Sad and they Song dreames of Sort of consration We were in coriged to Go on but it was But Dark for the old Rid cape chif[122] Spoak A Genst us and Said that the King and The Indens Might Pas but that we Shold Not For no Whit Man Shold Pas that way Thruw thir contry but the king Would Go and See and he Was not A Feard

6 Fridy we Set of and came to James Daviss and he was Very Kind and & we Got A Very Good Diner of Buter and Milk and we Went A bout 20 Miles A Nor west cors And it Rained we Lodged on the River Side[123] and This Day we crosed A creek[124] that Wase Prity Larg Aout A Quarter of A Mile from the Town

7 Seterdy it Rained & we had cofey To

118. Kittanning, by way of the Susquehanna West Branch.
119. Identified by Post as **lawkaposin (Wejachkaposing;** see note 115 above).
120. Written in the margin.
121. "They ate it up like mad, without salt."
122. Compare PA. ARCHIVES, first series, III, 28, 43, 51, where red hats and blankets identify Indians from the Ohio region.
123. Mileage estimates for this and the following day indicate a camp below present Cameron Mills.
124. Probably Cohocton River, crossed soon after leaving "Asinsan." Compare the entry for June 22, on the return.

Brexefast and Sum of them Set of and we all Set of and cane by Two or three Towns[125] and Saw two Prisners one was A man and the oher A Letel Boy [*We crosed*] We went A Bout 15 Miles to Tekesakacunk[126] Where we Arived At Three A cloce[127] we crosed the River five Times it Stanes on the North Side of the River[128] the River is very Smale Good Land And in the Evening there came From the Mohak Town A Bout A 12 of them & they Looked Like the Very Divel that wase the Town that they Said they Would Rost us If we came thear and we wery With in half A mile of it Now[129] Bot they wetn of A Gen home.

8 Sundy the indines Gatheres [*fr*] From All [ye] Litel Tounes Be low To Councel Whither we went or not Bak or foret So we wait

9 Mondy Like wise and there was A Sort of A Secrifies of A Deare they Boiled it All and Brought in the flesh When it was Boiled in A Basket And old Nutmess[130] was The oldest Man that was there and he came and Did eat his fill of it and the Broth was thick With Mell and He got the Skine on his Sholder And went out and haloed and then the king Got up and Give To Every one and it was the first that Man had killed in the Seasen Nutmess Got the Skine Thanks and Blising we Dineed Sumpttously.

10 Tusdey they Gatherd from all Quarters I saw two Prisners One Wase A Boy about 18 yers old and A Girel of the Same Eadg But they Would Not Spak to me

11 Wensdy they held councel and All A Greead to it and then [*we*] We wer to Go on our Jorney they Head Man of that Town Must Go along With us and we must Stay Till he Gets A New hous coverd the cros felowes comes and Dances With the rest and Look pleasent Be [*Wat*] What they Did we are not A Bout half A Days Jorney From they head of Sisquhaney They had Rim[131] With in half A [*M*] Mile of us and the King[132] alow of Aney of his conpney to Drink he Said he Did Not com here to Drink he came on Grater Besness then to Drink Last night thay Said that there was[*e*] Rum A coming and that he Shold joyn He said he would Not

12 Thirsdey we Bought A Bull and killed Him and rosted the flesh for our Jorney he coust 3£-10S and the all Went home his Day and we Resolved to Work at guittiking is house[133] and then We Will Go That Day When they All A Geed they Laid Down A Blanket and Preaclemed A Publick colection and for Joy the Wemen and Girels and children throd in wampom till There Wase 14 fathem for to helpe For strings on our Jorney they Seemed Very Glead they Seem More Sivel then before

13 Fridey we Went out to Work and When we BeeGan the Miscetes Bit So Bad that I wase obledged to Rap My hancerchf A Bout My Fase Bot the young Men Went ot the Town that was A Bove us and they Were All Drunk and here was None To work Isaik Still and Jamey[134] & I and When we came home they Were all com to our Town and Going Like as Many Divels we left Post and Moses to Rost

125. Compare the entry for June 19, where Hays says there were no settlements between James Davis's and "Cushinsten Town," above which the Indians were settled "all along the river" to Canisteo, six miles above.
126. Possibly merely an erratic spelling of Passigachkunk; or the first syllable may be the Delaware **teng-,** little. The "lower town" is referred to in some accounts as "little Passeeca" or "Little Poosica"; and Hays, on June 17, calls it "this Litel Town Pasecakung."
127. The journal gives the time as four o'clock. Post says they stopped an hour at the first house they came to; this may explain the discrepancy.
128. The journal places the town on the south side. Possibly this, too, refers to the first stopping place; the scattering of huts may have stood on both sides of the stream, which Hays says was here "very Smale."
129. This is the "upper town," which Hays had not yet visited. In the journal he says the two settlements were a mile apart.
130. Nutimus; see note 10 above.
131. Rum, evidently at the "upper town."
132. The words **did not** must be supplied.
133. "Guittiking's house"; see note 54 above.
134. James Peepy; see note 58 above.

Sheare of the Bule and and they wer ferd A Nuf but Post Went out in they After Noon and Left Me to help Moses But the Rum was Soon Don and they Went to slep and the Work Went Slow the man kiled A hog for they frolick and the king took Two Drames and No Mor the wather if good I was Reding in the testiment and one of them Struck it out of my Hand and I was aledged to Quat I Durst Not Reead But sum times When they were in A Good Umer and Not Long at A tim

14 Seterdy I Denied to work and I Went And Maid A Spoon And Mr Post Aan Isack Went to work then I Resolved that Would Not Dow Then I Went out & Said that I Would Work But there was Nobody to Take care of thing at Home and I would Split[135] But I Went Rong and they Said That I must Go home and cook Diner I had to Boil the Last of The Bull and I Maid very Good Broth[136]—Then we herd that The frensh had Besedged [at] they Falls the Inglesh [at Nigra] and was at Batel Now they told us that There was 7 or 8 Mohak kings coning to convers with us we heard the would come to the town that was Not But Half A Mile from us Where they Said that the would Rost us if we came to it we are in the Subburb of it this 9 Days

15 Sundy and in the Efternoon they Said that ye would come & when they came there But one capton with Sum chiefs and they came and held A confranc With the king We did Not Know Whither they would Send us Back or Not For we were onder there orders for we Must Go throw their contry if we Go to Aligeney But they Seemed To come Lik men and not Lik the others That came first from that Town But When they heard Sum of they Speeches they Said Sum of they Requists Was very[137] but to Moro the would Give A Nancer that was A Bout The Prisners and ot Let us Pass thrw For they Would Let No whit man Go throw thire contry by Sum old A Greement A Mongst them Selves For feer of Spies to See the Land This Day I Saw a Prisner Girell [She was A Doutor of Jacab Bayres][138] of About 9 or 10 years old that [*cal*] came with A[an] old Squa that came From the Town A Bove and She Broght A Basket full of Shuger and Bred ot us And I heard of A women that came From Aligeney they Say that She Wase wife to one Miler that Lived Sum where Back over Sischeanea and there was About 30 in compeny With the capton

16 Mundy Now we waited for our Sentens Which they Soon Give to Go home fore they Were Sory that [we] Were in the Kings Bosem for they Said that it would Be Bad for [thim][138] the Mohakes and for the Dolewarers For they Said that If we went on Our Jorney that Porhapes there Would Rise A Storm and that The Limes Might Breck and fall and knock out our Breanes and [we][138] they Would Be Sory for they Would be Bleamed for it and the Doliwares and that they had Be Gun A [*Peas*] Good Work of Peas them Selves and That they were going Back Soon to Alegeney to confirm it But they Said that we must Go home A Gene But the King Said that he Would Go up the Morow and Spak to Them and I Saw one Boy A Prisner that came from that Town and the capten Spoak Very coragesly and With Great corage and they Went Home that Night and So [*Mr*] Mr Post Would Spak to them To Morow

17 Tusdey we went over to the Please Where they Said they Would Rost us we went at 12 A clock and Staid there till 5 oures and had A confranenes with them

135. I. e., shingles or clapboards (from which the town apparently derived its name).
136. In contrast to the cook of May 19!
137. The word **hard** must be supplied.
138. Written in the margin.

and We Did Eat with them But they Said that we Must Go Back Then we Resolved that we Shold Go to Morow Morneng we [*Sete*] Setled With one A Nother Old Tikean[139] is the chief of this Litel Town Pasecakung the 2 Townes hase But one Name[140] the Mingo Chiefes Names we could Not find out But one Wapenga[141] he Spock all

He is the chife capten and I saw A Prisner Boy of A Bout 9 or 10 yeares of Eadg they Say that there is 2 Neagors[142] Lves in that Town That had Run from they inhabetenc and they Live in Packunkcung

there Wase one Pasckokung how was The Mane that killed Joseph Croker[143] As we Went over to the Town he came Be hind Me and Strock me and Said that he Never would Love [The] White men any More and Drove Along But My flesh creeped on My Back to think that I Must Bear Such usige of A Sevedges is Hand But I Laft and Said Nothing but Wish My Self out of thire Contry and he was A Shaner[144]

One Rose in councel and Said that They were Poor Teveren keepers and Deare for he Got But 6 fulls of A Misher [for a Ribond Stroud][145] and it was so litel that his Kock could Not Go in it and [*he had But A litel one*] Said he had But A Litel one [kock] Neither

18 Wensdy [we left he king][145] We waited All Day for A Pilet to conduck us Back Agen It wase Wete in they Morning But it cleared up and then we Give the Soral hors to king Tikeun And Sedel and Bridel and fited him for the Jorney to Algeney We Expect to Go Moro Early of

19 Thursdy [We heared Sum Ling Stories][145] we Set of from compeny Packuncg Without [*xxxxBody*] [A teare and it wase] A Bout Ten A cloace We had in compeney 4 Mohaks and Moseas Tatemey the 4 John Koock[146] And the Shayner[147] That killed Joseph Croker For A Bout 6 Miles the inding are Seteled All A Long the River then Cushinsten Town Where the Moncy chief Lives[148] and there Lives No More Till we com to James Daves

20 Fridey we were A Bleadged to Weite for A Scort that day it Rained and Wase Very wat the Were Vert kind to us the Neame of that Pleace is [O] Wopackung[149] Very timbery Sort of Low Land from that to cuskins[150] and very Taul Pines But it is Not Good For anything and The hiles is good for Nothing They

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139. **Guittiking** of the entry for June 12; see note 54 above.
140. **Passig-chkunk (Scaughtung)** in Delaware usage; **Canisteo** to the "Mingoes"; see note 5 above.
141. Post, under date of June 15, calls him Wopenchachy (Delaware **wapin tschachke,** a garfish). This is the Delaware name for "Kinderuntie, or the Garr," a Seneca chief of Kanuskago (present Dansville, N. Y.), who since 1756 had attended Sir William Johnson's councils. In the spring of 1760 he carried on negotiations with the Wyandots and other western Indians. In 1762 Johnson suspected him of hostile schemes, which he denied. At the Lancaster Treaty of the same year, he refused Governor Hamilton permission to ship trade goods by the Susquehanna West Branch. On the way home from this treaty he became involved in a dispute with another Seneca, and received wounds of which he apparently died.
142. Several accounts mention these men. Prisoners freed in 1764 identify them as "a Mulatto, . . . a Blacksmith," whom they gave a good reputation, and "A Large Lusty Negro" (PAPERS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, IV, 495). In 1768, Zeisberger met on the Genesee River two Negroes who "lived among the Indians in Assinnissink, on the Tiaogu even before the war and, after the Indians there had fled, they found refuge among the Senecas" (OHIO ARCH. AND HIST. QUARTERLY, XXI, 83).
143. A workman helping to build Teedyuscung's new town at Wyoming; killed and scalped, May 27, 1758, by a Shawnee from Canisteo.
144. A Shawnee.
145. Written in the margin.
146. John Cook, a grandson of French Margaret. He attended a peace treaty at Easton in 1756, after which he and two other Indians attacked a home at the western end of present Berks Co., killing a man and capturing a girl, Catharine Yaeger.
147. "Pasckokung" of June 17. As has been observed (note 64 above), Post says there were only three "Mingoes," whom he identifies as John Cook, Pashechgua, and a third who "had a Scalp hanging to his Breast & a Dutchman's Coat on."
148. Referred to by Post, June 7, as "Koshkosh, where the Chief of the Mennissings lives." It is also referred to as "Hogtown."
149. James Davis's. Post says, June 6, "his Town is call'd Opashiskung & has abt. 10 Houses." Zeisberger gives the name as **Woapassisku** (OHIO ARCH. AND HIST. QUARTERLY, XXI, 11). It means "white clay place."
150. The "Cushinsten Town" of June 19; see note 148.

are All Swampes and Piness the King Said that He Would Go of this Day in his Jorney for Alegeney we Pearted With them yesterdy the 19 of June

21 Seterdy I saw a Prisneres that Wase taken in Virgeney his Name Wase Wagner his Father was Killed he Lives in the Mingo contry I saw A Girel of 3 or 4 years old that Man Spoak to me he was A Bout 22 Years of eadg

22 Sundy this Morning we Pearted With Moses Tatemey he went Back A Gean to the King and We have Got A Scort to Go with us We came to a Cree[151] and it was so hie That I was Ableadged to take my Bage on my Sholder and Go throw To Asoinsen[152] and Daves[153] Left us and We came on till Night Picht our camp one the River Side there are Very fine Low Lands and tall Pines Timber

23 Mundy It Rained very hard we came [*th*] to frensh Marget A bout 10 A clock and She was very cind and Spoak very faire and Said that She Did Not know what to Dow for She was ill used at Shomoking and Thretned and that Peters Said they Should be A Prehended and that Caty[154] had Promesed to Deliver the Prisners and I Promest her Prottion to Town we came to [*Toigo*] Tiogo and Lodg there that Nigt

24 Tusdy Digoa River and Siskhaney Two miles up is Not 20 Rods A Pert[155] Dioag was very high we Sweamed Our horses over with Much Defickelty and Set of for Mochilucan But the Mountens was so Bade that we could Not Get along we crosed 2 Montanes Mountens and when we came to the Creek we cold Not Go over that Night we in camped But the Neates wase Lik to Eate us up With Defickely we Got over To the Town Where we Got Whete cakes and A very good

25 [*W*] [Wensdy][156] Breackfast and they Went in councel

Tobe Deanes came in compeny With us till here and A nother Man and we Lay here this Day and Livesis Well the had A Sort of Worship and they Dansed Round and Two Beat the Skine and Wemen and Mem A Religes Dance

26 Thursdy we Set of and John Rodger To A Scort us to Wimeang and it did Rain Very hard and we Got A cnow and John Went in the cannow and Took our Luges and Mr Post and I Went Singel horce Then we Met A Gen and I Went in the cannow My torn till Night and we cam to A Learg creeak[157] and wase A Beadged to Sweam The horces over it and there we in camped it Rained very hard and the Nates Wase So Plenty that We could harly Live for them I got No Sleepe in the Mrning [*T*] horses was Blace With them it Rained on All Night

Galley 28—PA, ARCHAEOLOGIST ...
Take 13—JOHN HAYS' DIARY .....

27 Fridey Set of very early it Rained Still [*M*] Mr Post Took the cannow and we met [him] at A hill Where the hill and the River Met in A Streat Pashedg where the horces had to Sweem we had to go in the cannow A Great Pease then we Set of agen Then we came to A Nother creeak[158] and wase A Bleadged to Sweam the horces A Gene and The hiles was Very Slipey the horces Got Maney A Dispert Falle we thought theire Bones wold Be Broken uvery Minet it Sleacked Raining With Defickelty we came to Wioming that Night and wase Thankefull for our Safe

151. Probably Cohocton River; see the entry for June 6, and note 124 above.
152. Or "Asinsan"; see note 31 above.
153. James Davis
154. Catherine, French Margaret's daughter; see note 68 above.
155. At present Athens, Pa.
156. Written in the margin. The date is obviously misplaced, and should precede the words **With Defickely . . .**
157. Identified by Post as **Tinkkaneck** (Tunkhannock).
158. Identified by Post as **Lechchowichlao** (Lackawanna).

A Rvel there But I Saw A Sthreangthing thing that Sum Inding Had Doon he had Maid Sume Trackes in A hard hill with His feete and Struck A whit Oack tree [Strokes] With his fist till he Had Nocked of the Bark and Broke the Wood With his fist—NotBney[159] I Saw 3 Prisneres at Frensh Margetes Dwelling That was the Last I Saw

28 Seterdy it is A Hease Morning We Set of and Soforth By Mee John Hays

The following entries appear on later pages of the notebook:

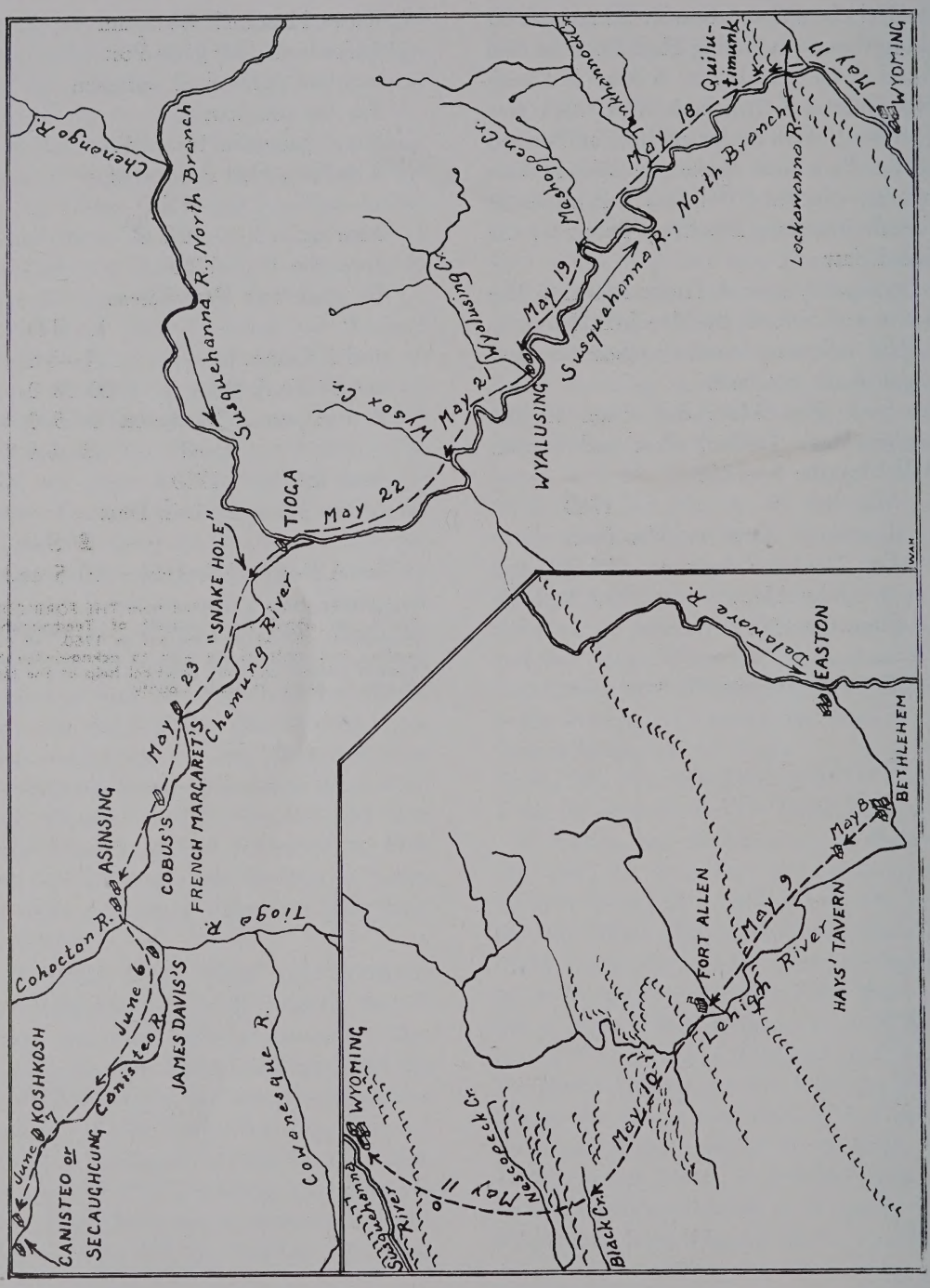
A. [*Jo*] John Hays did Enter in the Servics With Fredrick Post and caption Bull May the 5—1760

B. May the 16 1760
I ame in Deat to Mis Poist
For Mockison Leather £S D
John Hays 0 2 6
June the 16th
To A Hundred Wampum
I Got from [*Mr*] Mr Post
and half A hundred wampem
For the colectian
To / June the 18—1760
The King Had A Short of
£S D
Mee at 0 8 0

C. June the 3 1760
By Isack Still Deat Balens
L S D
and it Comes to .....1—3-6
the 17 To A Short 00 18 0
& to A pere of Mockeson 0 5 0
totell 2: 6.6
June the 3 1760
Moses Teatemey is in Deat
£ S D
for A Peare of Stokens ..00 5 and 6

159. **Nota bene;** see note 102 above.

*The present article is adapted from THE FORBIDDEN PATH, an unpublished account of Teedyuscung's embassy to the western Indians in 1760. In presenting this material we wish to acknowledge the friendly interest and very practical help of the Hon. Charles G. Webb of Tioga County.


Chenango R.
Susquehanna R., North Branch
Wyalusing Cr.
Wysox Cr.
Mahoopeny Cr.
Tunkhannock Cr.
WYALUSING
Susquehanna R., North Branch
Lackawanna R.
WYOMING
TIOGA
"SNAKE HOLE"
Chemung River
Cohocton R.
ASINSING
COBUS'S
FRENCH MARGARET'S
JAMES DAVIS'S
CANISTEO or SECAUGHCUNG
Canisteo R.
KOSHKOSH
Tioga R.
Cowanesque R.
Susquehanna R.
WYOMING
Nescopeck Cr.
Black Cr.
Delaware R.
EASTON
BETHLEHEM
FORT ALLEN
Lehigh River
HAYS' TAVERN
May 2
May 18
May 19
May 17
May 22
May 23
June 6
June 7
May 11
May 10
May 9
May 8

Looking For Artifacts - - Part 4

By

Vincent R. Mrozoski

VIII—TEST TRENCHING

In the excavation of your site the first problem that comes to your mind is where to start digging. You will want to obtain as much information and material as possible in the time available, unless you are going to camp here for some time. Unless your group plans to excavate the entire site, or has sufficient advanced information on it, you will want to employ some plan of attack to gather sufficient evidence. The best way of obtaining what is literally a representative cross section of the site is by trenching. A trench has a number of advantages over excavation; for one thing, it is easier to dig and fill; it is the only way of obtaining an accurate picture of the stratification of your site, presenting a single vertical profile instead of a series of short disconnected profiles. Even if your site is never excavated in grids or squares, by test trenching you will have a fairly good sample of its contents. The location of your trenches may depend on surface indications. As previously stated—"what you may find on the surface is only a sample of what lies underneath the soil." These indications may bring a high return in sample materials. So, in order to test trench your site, you will have to dig a few test pits on your site where there is a heavy concentration of material on the surface. These may be of any size or shape. It is advisable, however, to keep them smaller than five feet square. Test pits are often dug also where the soil of the site differs in color from that in the section under excavation. Before starting, a thorough check should be made to determine the location and extent of any previous excavations so these areas may be avoided. All such test pits should be recorded on your site map and the location, depth, and size, entered in your notebook. Always remember these *musts* and your notes will be up to date. Never rely on your memory for this. Also record all objects excavated and the depth in which they were found. After you have dug your test pits, recorded them on your site map, and entered them in your note-book, together with contents located, you are ready to test trench your site. Trenches need not be straight, they may be L-shaped, or take whatever direction circumstances seem to warrant. Two intersecting trenches at right angles can also be dug through the center of your site as representing the best cross section. Two or more may be dug if there appears to be more than one center of concentration of material on the site. You may start your trench at one end and work toward the center, but you can accomplish more by having your crew start at both ends and then work toward the center of your site. As to the depth of your trench—this should depend upon the depth necessary to reach sterile soil. Trenching is the most common technique of exploratory excavation.

IX—EXCAVATION

A. Types of Sites

Although this topic could have been included under the "Survey," I thought it best to include it here since you will want to know what type of site is essential for a successful dig. No two sites are alike, as you will find by experience; keeping this fact in mind will be to your advantage. I will list the most important types of sites, although there are others that you may run into in the course of your experiences.

1. Permanent Village Sites

Sites of this kind are usually represented by accumulated midden materials and are situated near fresh water or springs. The ground is usually darker than the surrounding soil, as can often be noted in freshly plowed fields. Be observant—these signs usually pay off. The places picked for such a site were usually on well-drained spots such as old river terraces (second bottom land), knolls or ridges on the valley floor, or on hillsides adjacent to the valley floor. The summits of bluffs or ridges overlooking the stream and river valleys were also occupied by these sites. They usually contain fragments of shells, pitted stones, bits of animal bones, flint flakes and chips and spalls, and usually pottery in very small pieces. The Indian's home was his workshop and the common broken tools such as knives and scrapers, as well as unfinished tools also occur. Many of these tools were broken and discarded on the spot. Complete artifacts are also found which may have been lost or misplaced. Other common items of use that may be found on such a site are hammerstones, rubbing stones, mortars and pestles, axes, bone and shell beads. Closer examination of the area may reveal bed-rock mortars. The size of such sites varies from fifty feet to a half-mile. Perhaps certain sites were camped on at different times or periods, thus leaving evidence which would seem to be one continuous campsite. Proper excavations may reveal outlines of houses, pits, or other structural features as evidenced by color and texture difference in the subsoil.

2. Camp Sites and Temporary Village Sites

These may sometimes resemble village sites in a way, but the midden accumulations have no depth. The Indian was always on the move, going to places that suited him and where the fishing was good and game abundant. Artifacts of all kinds are present and other evidences of occupancy occur on the surface. These sites were revisited for hundreds of years because they were good camping spots.

3. Caves or Rock Shelters

These are formed by natural cavities in rock exposures or by an overhanging cliff which may have attracted occupancy by protection from the weather. The Indians did not utilize every cave or overhanging ledge as a shelter and the ones they did select were generally large, well lighted and dry. Caves with small entrances were seldom used. Look the cave over for designs of any kind, or pictures rubbed out in the walls. If the cave or shelter was occupied at one time or another, evidences similar to those found on camp sites will be present on the floor or in front of the cave or shelter opening. Should this evidence be lacking, take your trowel and dig in the floor for such signs. A little test pitting may reveal animal bones, an occasional arrowhead, stone tools, flint chips, broken pieces of pottery, etc. Don't let your enthusiasm get the better of you so that you ruin the site by digging at random. Plan to dig with help and excavate the cave archeologically. Perhaps the ceiling is blackened by smoke, but you must remember that this evidence is not enough—it may have been used by modern hunters and fishermen. If no evidence of occupancy can be found in or around the rock-shelter or cave, the chances are that it was never used by the Indian at all. Our state and surrounding areas are rich in rock shelters, oftentimes overgrown and hidden by brush and vines and other vegetation.

4. Bedrock Mortars

Most of these are found along rivers and streams where exposed rock surfaces occur. They are conical pits in the rock surface and vary in depth and size. Pestles

of all sizes may be found near these.

5. Mines, Quarries and Workshops

These are easily recognized by the quantity of broken or discarded tools of all kinds, together with rejected spalls and unused masses of quarried material. Having quarried or mined the flint, the Indians then carried it to their workshops which may have been nearby or in the surrounding areas. Although the Indian's home was usually his workshop, sometimes a spot was utilized almost entirely as a place for manufacturing flint blanks or tools. Indians often traveled great distances to obtain their flint and had to make blanks or blades on the spot. Workshop locations often occur near the source of the material. Large amounts of flakes, spalls, rejects and blank forms can always be found on these workshops. Several years ago we located a site miles away from the river; no spring or fresh water was in sight, but large pieces of black flint were strewn all over the place, together with some damaged worked pieces, and an occasional crude point. Being pressed for time we didn't locate the source of this material, hoping to come back again in the future and resume our search for the mine or quarry.

6. Mound Site

Through experience, I have learned that mounds are of all sizes and shapes, varying in height from a slight rise, up to from five to fifteen feet in height. They are scattered all through the western Pennsylvania area, and especially in the surrounding states. Be skeptical if the "mound" is near a small stream of any kind —it may have been caused by water action in the course of a great many years. Test pitting along the edge will verify this. I have known of experienced amateurs who dug into the top of one of these mounds about twenty-five feet in height. They gave up their digging after reaching sandstone. Evidently these persons knew nothing of mound construction since they wasted their labors on such a venture. In a nearby state, several men rented a bulldozer and leveled a historic mound, finding a few arrowheads for their trouble. Digging into a real Indian mound should be discouraged unless it is done scientifically and archaeologically. You must also remember that your time and efforts may yield a very small reward, Some mounds contain cremations and the ashes would be of no use to you.

7. Rock Mound or Cairn

Perhaps you've hunted through the woods and found a large pile of rocks or stones and wondered why they were placed there since there the area is not suitable for cultivation. The Indians sometimes covered their burials in this manner and quite often the resulting cairns vary in height and shape. Some have been reported to cover a range from ten to twenty feet in area and from three to four feet in height. The burials in this type of mound are badly crushed by the weight of the stone pile and as many as forty to fifty burials are sometimes found therein.

8. Cemeteries or Burial Grounds

These usually occupy the summits of knolls not far from permanent village sites and are at times uncovered by accident. Sometimes plowing and erosion will expose human bones, indicating that the site had been used for a cemetery.

B. Tools and Equipment

Because of the varying conditions encountered in excavating different types of sites, the needed equipment will include a variety of tools. Good tools are expensive and care of them is essential. Your notebook should contain a list of such equipment and should be checked *daily* when you've finished, making sure everything is accounted for. Oftentimes tools are covered with dirt and forgotten. I would rec-

ommend the following equipment needed for a good dig:

1. Standard long-handled, round pointed No. 2 excavating shovel. Since most of your excavation consists of moving dirt, this is your most indispensable tool and also is the trademark of archeology. The handle should be sandpapered now and then and treated with linseed oil.

2. Army Shovel—This short-handled shovel can be purchased very reasonably at any surplus store, can be folded when not in use, doesn't take up too much room and is easy to handle.

3. Picks—An army pick-mattock should be included in this list because it too is easy to handle. Care should be taken in use of this tool so that no damage to artifacts and skeletal remains results.

4. Screens—The use of these in sifting excavated earth will enable you to recover many artifacts which may be overlooked. If time permits, all excavated earth should be screened. Small window-grade "hand" screens are most convenient. These may be made up in several sizes so that they can be nested together for convenience in transportation.

5. Buckets—Galvanized buckets are useful since burials and artifacts are often washed in situ for photographing. Surplus stores also carry canvas buckets that can be folded for convenience in storage and transportation.

6. Tape—Should be at least 50 feet long, but a 100 foot tape is preferred. This is necessary to measure the site. There are various kinds of tapes on the market today. Cloth ones have a tendency to stretch in time and are hard to read when soiled. Some prefer a plastic tape that can be wiped clean with a damp cloth. Steel tapes are expensive, but are superior to others. White faced ones are easily read and are recommended for this type of work. Frequent oiling and cleaning of steel tapes is essential.

7. Trowel—A four or six inch standard mason's trowel is recommended. Flexible trowels, and garden trowels are inconvenient. Trowels are used in the actual excavation where artifact yield is good and for uncovering and excavating features, burials, artifacts, etc., and where damage to material may result from the use of larger tools.

8. Ice Pick—A fine pointed ice pick can be used for delicate work in exposing burials, recovering artifacts from hard deposits, etc.

9. Paint Brushes—A brush two inches wide or smaller, used dry, is helpful in brushing away loose dirt when exposing artifacts, pottery and burials.

10. A six or eight foot rolled steel pocket tape or snap-rule for mapping the location of materials recovered. Each excavator should carry one in his pocket.

11. Pocket Compass—An army engineers' pocket compass is necessary for most archeological purposes and is used to determine the orientation of burials, the location of non-permanent datum points, etc.

12. Whisk Broom—The use of a whisk broom at times could be more convenient than a paint brush for removing loose dirt in the course of exposing a burial, cleaning a vertical profile, etc.

13. Scratcher—This may easily be made by bending an ice pick, or an awl to a right angle between an inch and two inches from the point. It may be handier than a straight ice pick in cleaning the earth away from burials and for other delicate work.

14. Toothbrush—This is put to use at times in cleaning small objects.

15. Magnifying Glass—This is very handy for the examination of small objects on the spot.

16. Yardstick—This is useful for measuring the location and depth of artifacts.

17. Wooden Stakes—As explained in last issue under the Grid System, these are necessary in laying off the site for excavation, and for subsequent use as local datum points in measuring. They can be made at the site, but it would be better to have them ready in order to save time. Long iron spikes and bolts are also serviceable. Paper tags with tie-strings should be included for marking the stakes.

The removal of loose dirt and dust is important for photographing burials, etc., and a bellows may be useful here, or a bicycle pump is equally useful.

Other essential items include plenty of sharp pencils, blank forms, site survey sheets, photographic record sheets, graph paper for mapping, artifact slips, and other forms needed. Also to be included are some strong paper sacks for artifacts and other material recovered in the course of your excavation; certain types of small boxes are useful for storing small artifacts, etc.

This list does not represent a maximum of useful equipment and other implements may be added to meet special conditions with the use of a little ingenuity. It comprises only those tools usually employed in the actual course of excavation.

(To be Continued)

The Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology "Honor Roll"

At the Annual Meeting the Membership Committee will ask to go on record to extend its drive for the next two-year period to reach a roster of 1,000 members. We are asking all of our members to get two or more "new" members in order to make this possible. We can and will obtain this goal with your help. Our thanks and appreciation are extended to those who have helped and are continuing to help. Has your name appeared on our Honor Roll yet?

Application blanks are still being received without any name on the bottom—we must have this in order to give you the credit. It would also be appreciated if a "change of address" card is made at the post office and sent to the secretary-treasurer as soon as possible. Several bulletins were returned as "moved," "address unknown." Let us know of any changes in the future. Thank you.

(* indicates more than one member.)

Miss Katharine W. Bennett, Williamsport, Pa.

Miss Laurel A. Busse, Pittsburgh, Pa.

***Mr. Charles O. Fobes, Jr., New Castle, Pa.

Mr. John S. Koch, Williamsport, Pa.

Denton E. Kuhn, D.D.S., Lake Ariel, Pa.

**Dr. J. Alden Mason, Berwyn, Pa.

Mr. Fred Chesebro, Sherburne, N. Y.

Mr. Carl D. Shingler, Guilford College, North Carolina

***Mr. Clyde B. Olson, Sr., Cooperstown, N. Y.

Mr. W. C. Reeves, Swissvale, Pa.

Mr. William A. Remaley, Berwick, Pa.

**Mr. John G. Robson, Johnstown, Pa.

Mr. Lyle A. Swingle, Lake Ariel, Pa.

**Mr. John Witthoft, Mechanicsburg, Pa.

Mr. Gordon K. Wright, Pittsford, N. Y.

Dr. L. E. Wurster, Williamsport, Pa.

**State-wide Library Drive

Our state-wide library drive netted two more members, bringing up our total to 14.

Fall Meeting of the Society

Our Fall meeting was held jointly with the Allegheny Chapter No. 1, at 2:30 P.M., on Saturday, December 12th, 1953, at the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society. The meeting was opened by the president, Dr. T. H. Daugherty, after an introduction by P. Schyler Miller, the chapter's president. Our president then welcomed the members and read a few letters and telegrams from some of our officers and members who were not able to attend. He also introduced Col. Acker, one of our past presidents and organizers of our old chapter; Arthur George Smith, president of the O.I.R.C.S.; and Delf Norona, secretary of the West Virginia Archaeological Society. The minutes of the Philadelphia meeting were then read and approved by the members; this was followed by the membership report.

Membership Report:

TYPE	New Since May 2nd	New Since Oct. 1st	Collected for 1954	To be Collected	Total
Active	78	59	186	125	311
Act. Hus/Wife	9	6	7	2	9
Sustaining	3		21	14	35
Associate	12	10	19	12	31
Institutional ...	2	2	38	29	67
Life	2				18
TOTALS ...	106	77	271	182	471

Note: At our annual meeting in Philadelphia, it was reported that our membership stood at 406 "solid members"; as of this report we had to drop 38 from our roster, which included: 29 Active, 6 Sustaining, and three Institutionals. The causes of this drop were non-renewals, deaths, and moving out of state.

The following treasurer's report was then read and approved by all members present:

Submitted to the Fall Meeting of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology, Pittsburgh, Penna., December 12th, 1953. This report includes all transactions up to and including December 5th, 1953, corresponding with our Bank Balance of that date.

CREDITS:

Bal. May 2nd, 1953	$1133.35	
Dues Received	1115.65	
Dividend on Stock, No. 20	2.10	
Sale of Publications ..	5.00	$2256.10

DEBITS:

Printing costs, *BULLETIN*, motor service, stationery	$ 793.65	
Postage and Postals ..	60.00	
Dues: Pa. Federation of Hist. Societies ..	5.00	
Expenses, Philadelphia Meeting	31.20	$ 889.85
OPERATING BALANCE		$1366.25

Debits standing against the Society: NONE.

I hereby certify that this is a true statement concerning the funds of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology for the period from May 2nd, 1953, to December 5th, 1953.

Vincent R. Mrozoski,
Secretary-Treasurer

Checked and Approved by:
John A. Leppla
James L. Swauger
Auditors

Mr. Mrozoski also reported a 100%

backing of the Membership Committee.

Mr. Mrozoski next submitted samples of a membership certificate which could be given to all our members. This certificate would be suitablie for framing and could be hung in the den or wherever artifacts are kept. It was moved and seconded to have these made after securing an estimate of cost.

P. Schyler Miller gave his report on the Meetings Committee, with a possibility that our annual meeting will be held at State College, Pa. It was also suggested that a meeting be held in the future with the Delaware Society at Wilmington. The members were also called on for any other ideas. Our president stated that our meetings have alternated lately between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, and that the next one could be either at Harrisburg or State College.

John Witthoft reported that Dr. Mason intended to make a report on the Society History Committee had he been able to attend, and that we would probably hear from him concerning it.

President Daugherty reported that the Constitution and By-Laws Committee are re-drafting them and will present a stream-lined constitution to the Society at our next meeting, that no major changes will be made, but a few things not needed will be left out.

William J. Mayer-Oakes and John Witthoft reported on the Society Project Committee. Mr. Witthoft reported that nothing as yet was being done about the Upper Delaware because of the lack of funds. It was suggested that excavations be carried out jointly between our organization and the Delaware Society.

A letter was then read from Mrs. H. H. Gilkyson of the Publicity Committee suggesting that our organization undertake the compiling of an inexpensive handbook showing various types of artifacts that could be sold to Boy Scouts and other interested persons and schools. The suggestion was moved and seconded in order to bring it before the Society formally. In discussion, it was pointed out that such a book would be very difficult to compile since it would involve a survey of collections throughout the country. It was thought that a regional survey covering Pennsylvania and related areas would be a reasonable project for the Society to consider. Mrs. Gilkyson suggested a project for the Society to write a primer for artifacts, typing arrowheads of the country with royalty of sale of it going to our organization. Mr. A. G. Smith reported that he is working on such a primer for the state of Ohio on "fluted points" and that there is always room for primers, but stated that plates for this would be rather expensive. A suggestion was made to get typical arrowheads from all over the country but not to go into classification as this would involve time-study, etc. William J. Mayer-Oakes suggested that we not concentrate on the state only, and get some information already published—that if the publisher would stand the cost, it would be a simple thing to cover the country on such material. He also stated that there wouldn't be enough sales if Pennsylvania only were involved. Alton Long showed interest in this project, stating that artifacts could be classified numerically, with explanation of types, etc., and that there was nothing of this sort published as yet. He also stated that he would be willing to work with this project—a manual similar to a primer, small, and covering the country—that photographs would make a much more attractive publication. W. J. Mayer-Oakes stated that he would cooperate if Mr. Long would undertake the project. Mr. Witthoft stated that all publishers are looking for a good book on Indians and would be in favor of this project since it would not be of any expense to the Society. Mr. Mayer-Oakes

made a motion that Mr. Long investigate the possibility of compiling such a manual or primer, which was seconded by Mr. P. Schyler Miller.

The subject of getting our back issues to the proper place was brought up and it was reported that Director Charles L. Lucy was working on it.

Mr. Mrozoski reported that the Auditing Committee cooperated with him 100% in checking society records and books.

Mr. Witthoft then brought up the subject of having the Pennsylvania Archaeologist microfilmed, saying that very few members and institutions have a complete file, that it would be done as a public service instead of a profit. He was asked for the cost of such a project and to get bids. Mr. Norona thought the amount of ten dollars to have this done was reasonable enough. Mr. J. Leppla and W. J. Mayer-Oakes both explained how it was done. It was also suggested that Mr. Witthoft have this done and that the Society keep the original record. Mr. Leppla then made the motion to approve the amount of between ten and fifteen dollars to have Mr. Witthoft microfilm the back numbers of the Pennsylvania Archaeologist, which was seconded by Mr. Don Dragoo. This met with the approval of all members present.

President Daugherty stated that we need a good Publicity Committee because our local newspapers came through with minor clippings concerning our meeting.

He then appointed the Nominating Committee for the annual meeting with James L. Swauger, chairman, assisted by Dr. J. Alden Mason and Mr. Richard Wright. It was moved and seconded that the meeting be adjourned. After the meeting the following program was presented, illustrated with colored slides:

Mr. Don W. Dragoo—"Formation of the Ohio Valley Historical Indian Conference"

Edward V. McMichael—"The McKees Rocks Mound"

John Witthoft, State Anthropologist—"Middle Woodland Industries of Eastern Pennsylvania."

The dinner-meeting was held in the Carnegie Museum's Cafeteria at 6:00 P.M. with James L. Swauger, Curator, Section of Man, giving his talk on "Digging at Fort Pitt," which was illustrated by colored slides. Following his talk, the members asked numerous questions which Mr. Swauger answered. It was surprising to learn of the size of the fort. Mr. Swauger was asked to submit an article on his interesting and historical talk to our editor for publication in the near future, this for the benefit of those of our members not able to attend.

Col. Acker was then introduced and he gave us an interesting talk on the Peking man and how he came to visit the spot where the bones were found in China.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date ..... 19....

To the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology:

I hereby request that the Board of Directors of the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology elect me to Active (Associate, Sustaining, Life) membership in the Society. In order to expedite the transaction, I herewith send the desired fee $ .....

(Signed) .....

Name (Please Print) .....

Address .....

.....

The archaeological quarterly magazine is sent free to all members.

Classes of membership

Associate (under 18 years of age)	$ 1.00
Active	3.00
Active (husband and wife)	4.00
Sustaining	5.00
Institutional	3.00
Life	50.00

All checks or drafts for membership fees or dues should be made payable to the Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology. Mail application and remittance to Mr. Vincent R. Mrozoski, 407 Phillips Street, Aliquippa, Pa.